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OUTLINE

OF THE

Revolution

IN

SPANISH AMERICA;

OR

AN ACCOUNT

OF THE

ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND ACTUAL STATE OF THE WAR

CARRIED ON BETWEEN

SPAIN AND SPANISH AMERICA;

CONTAINING

THE PRINCIPAL FACTS WHICH HAVE MARKED THE STRUGGLE.

BY A SOUTH-AMERICAN.

Fata viam invenient. Æn. lib. 10.

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PREFACE.

THE object of the present publication is to give an outline of the origin, progress, and actual state of the revolution in Spanish America. The author has confined himself as much as possible to the simple relation of facts, leaving it to his readers to draw their conclusions from them. All that is contained in the book is to be found in official and other authentic documents. Of many of the facts related the author himself has been witness, and of many others he possesses detailed accounts from men of credit and information. He has not neglected any publication on the subject from which useful

matter was to be obtained; viz. the newspapers printed in every part of America; the bulletins of the military commanders; La Historia de la Revolucion de Mexico, by El Doctor Don José Guerra; the Exposé to the Prince Regent of England, by Mr. W. Walton; the articles inserted in El Espanol, by D. J. M. Blanco White; and the work De Colonies et de l'Amèrique, by M. de Pradt. It may perhaps be objected to the narrative that it is incomplete in omitting the relation of some of those revolting cruelties which stain the history of every such contest, and have not been wanting here. The author believes, however, that quite enough of them is detailed to give a just idea of the spirit which has been actuating the parties in the war, and that was the object.

This Work will labour under one disadvantage in seeking the approbation of the

reader accustomed to a correct English style; Spanish idioms will be found in it, and perhaps other imperfections springing from the same source. These may not affect the sense of the Work, but the effect being unpleasant to correct taste, it would have been well had they been avoided.

PART FIRST.

MATTERS RELATING TO SPANISH AMERICA GENERALLY.

ERRATA.

Page 9. line 13. for "Guagivos," read "Guagiros."

Page 98. line 9. for "or rather upon the Fort of *San Felipe*," read, "or rather upon *Lapopa*."

ships of Goatemala, Venezuela, and Chili. These territories were, before 1810, governed by chiefs named by the king of Spain, who acted independently of each other. The viceroyalties and captain-generalships were subdivided into *intendencias* and provinces, over which presided *inten-*

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CHAPTER FIRST.

TERRITORIAL DIVISIONS OF SPANISH AMERICA.—MANNER IN WHICH IT WAS GOVERNED BEFORE THE WAR.—ATTEMPTS AT REVOLUTION IN THE LAST CENTURY.—GRIEVANCES OF WHICH THE AMERICANS COMPLAINED.

THE continental part of Spanish America, as politically divided by the Spanish government, comprehends the viceroyalties of New Spain or Mexico, Santa Fè de Bogota or New Grenada, Peru, Buenos Ayres or the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and the captain-generalships of Goatemala, Venezuela, and Chili. These territories were, before 1810, governed by chiefs named by the king of Spain, who acted independently of each other. The viceroyalties and captain-generalships were subdivided into *intendencias* and provinces, over which presided *inten-*

dentes, *gobernadores*, or *corregidores*, likewise named by the king, but dependent on the viceroys or captains-general. The provinces were again divided into departments, in which resided the delegates of the chiefs of the provinces, and the judges called *alcaldes* named by the municipalities *cabildos*, there to maintain the civil power. The viceroys and captains-general united in themselves the civil and military powers; and though generally these united powers were likewise vested in the governors, sometimes there were chiefs, named *commandantes*, who separately held in the provinces the military command. The municipalities had the care of provisioning the towns, and of the minor police, which has for its object the health and comfort of the inhabitants.

The administration of justice was intrusted to magistrates, called *oidores*, who, when united, formed the judicial courts, named *audiencias*. Of these the presidents were the chiefs residing in the towns in which the audiencia had place, viz. Mexico, Guadalaxara, Goatemala, Caraccas, Santa Fè de Bogota, Quito, Lima, Cusco, Chuquisaca, Chili, and Bue-

nos Ayres. The generality of causes were first tried by the governors, corregidores, their delegates, or the alcaldes, who acted by the advice of a lawyer, *asesor*, unless they were themselves law-professors; their sentence had to be confirmed by the *audiencia*, and in case of dissatisfaction the cause was tried a second time by that court. Many privileged cases, *los casos de corte*, were solely tried by the *audiencias*.

According to the solemn and special contract entered into between the kings of Spain, and the discoverers, conquerors, and settlers in Spanish America, these last were to remain lords of the country, on the basis of feudal vassalage, under the names of *encomenderos*. Such, however, was the inhuman conduct of the first of these towards the natives, that Charles the fifth and his successors were under the necessity of gradually abolishing many of their privileges; and the *encomiendas* fell at length, in most of the provinces, to the crown: certain lesser privileges were then granted to the settlers, in lieu of those originally possessed, with the titles of marquis, count, &c.

Spanish America was from that time considered as a kingdom, independent in itself, yet united to Spain, as being both under the government of one king. It was in consequence enacted, that from the laws of the Indies, all title, name, or notion of conquest should be erased, and the Indians declared subjects of the king, in all respects the same as the Castilians. The incorporation of Spanish America to the crown of Castile was decreed by Charles the fifth, in Barcelona, the 14th of September 1519, and confirmed by Donna Juana, Philippe the second, and Charles the second. And "considering," concludes the emperor Charles the fifth, "the fidelity of our vassals, and the fatigues which the discoverers and settlers experienced in making their discoveries and settlements, and in order that they may possess with more certainty and confidence the right of always remaining united to our royal crown, we promise, and pledge our faith and royal word, in behalf of ourselves, and the kings our successors, for ever and ever, that their cities and settlements on no account or reason, or in favour of any

person whatever, shall be alienated, or separated, wholly or in part; and that if we or any of our successors should make any gift or alienation thereof, contrary to our express declaration, the same shall be held as null and void." Ley 1. tit. 1. lib. 3. Ley 7. tit. 1. lib. 4. de la Recopilacion de Indias.

In the opening of the royal decree, published in the year 1524, for the nomination of a supreme council for the Indies, the term kingdom is expressly used; and its use is accompanied with the admission, that the inhabitants had a natural right to hold the appointments of profit and honor in the country. Baron Humboldt, in his Essai Politique on New Spain, chap. 12. lib. 5. observes, that the kings of Spain, by taking the title of king of the Indies, have considered these distant possessions rather as integral parts of the Spanish monarchy, or as provinces dependent on the crown of Castile, than as colonies, in the sense attached to that word, since the sixteenth century, by the commercial nations of Europe.

The energetic remonstrances of *Monte-*

sino, *Cordova*, *Las Casas*, and others, to the court of Spain, against the arbitrary measures of the conquerors and settlers, gave rise to the establishment of the council of the Indies. This council is empowered by titulo 2° lib. 2° de la Recopilacion de Indias, to make laws, *pragmaticas*, *ordenanzas*, &c. &c. for the Indies, as being invested with the supreme authority over them, and was at the same time commanded to watch over the execution of the laws enacted to favour the new subjects. These with many regulations scarcely deserving the name of laws, because so perfectly frivolous, form the basis of the code named *Recopilacion de Indias*.

The legislative power of the kingdom of the Indies rested then in the council of the Indies and the king; and the executive power in the viceroys and captains-general. The viceroys were invested besides with *royal power*; that is to say, they were authorized by a special commission to act with plenitude of power in extraordinary and delicate emergencies.

The royal pleasure was expressed by *cedulas reales*, &c. (principum placita et

rescripta), which, though never united into a body of laws, and very frequently revoked, formed the first legislative code of Spanish America. After this ranked la *Recopilacion* de *Indias*, *that* of *Castilla*, and the common law, or *las siete partidas*. Titulo 1. libro 2. de la Recopilacion. Where all these proved defective, which was often the case, reference was made to the opinion of law-practitioners.

The system of finance was founded on the following principles: 1st, That the king was proprietor of the land, lib. 4. tit. 12. *de la Recopilacion*. 2dly, The Indians paid a contribution by a poll-tax or capitation, *lib.* 6. tit. 12. *and lib.* 6. *tit.* 15; and by the Mita in Peru; every Indian was obliged to work in the mines for eighteen months, not at one continued period, but at different times, making in the whole eighteen months, between the ages of eighteen and fifty. 3dly, A tenth part of the produce of the cultivated land was paid under the denomination of tithes, which were levied for the protection the king granted to churches, according to an agreement made with different popes; see *titulo*

de diezmos in the *Recopilacion.* 4th, The indirect taxes were the custom-house duties; the *alcabala,* or duty paid on selling almost every article of commerce or provisions, and the fifth, *quinto,* of all gold and silver extracted from the mines not belonging to the king; see the *titulos de la alcabala, ensayo del oro, &c. in the Recopilacion.* There were articles the sale of which was confined to the king's officers, as tobacco, and salt, and cards; and the revenue arising from the postage of letters went likewise into the king's treasury, and in many provinces a duty was paid for the right of keeping boats to cross the rivers, for keeping game-cocks, and for selling the beverages called *pulche, guarapo, &c.* see *titulo de los Estancos* in the *Recopilacion*; instructions for the *Intendentes,* &c. The collection of these taxes was intrusted to different officers in the different departments of the administration, and the product of them was deposited in the general treasury; from whence it was sent to Spain, or disposed of otherwise according to the orders of the *juntas superiores de Hacienda,* which were assembled in the capitals, and were com-

posed of the *Intendente*, who was the president, the *regente* of *the Audiencia*, two *contadores majores*, the *fiscal*, called *de lo civil*, the *official real*, senior in office, and one *escribano real*.

From the most exact calculations it is supposed that the continental part of Spanish America contains thirteen millions of inhabitants; Indians, Spaniards, Negroes, and their descendants, without including the nations of Indians still existing independent of the Spanish government on the banks of the Meta, the costa of the Guagivos, on the banks of the Oronoco, Rio Negro, Pampas de Buenos Ayres, &c. Part of the population of Spanish America is employed in agriculture, especially in Venezuela, Goatemala, Guayaqudil, Chili, Carthagena, &c.; many in the care of cattle, particularly in the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and part of Venezuela; while the inhabitants of several provinces of Mexico, Peru, and New Grenada, are almost wholly employed in working the mines.

The Indians and Negroes have retained in a great measure their primitive customs;

the Creoles have received theirs from the Spaniards. The catholic religion being that of Spanish America, the church government and ecclesiastical dignities are the same as in the mother country; archbishops, bishops, &c. who were nominated by the king, in conformity with the privilege granted to him by Julius the second, in the year 1508, which is called *real patronato.* See tit. 6. lib. 1. de la Recopilacion. The inquisition was also established in the new continent.

Considerable ignorance even of the most necessary arts of life reigned throughout these immense territories, with the exception of the capitals; and in Mexico, Lima, and Santa Fè de Bogota, the studies of medicine and some branches of natural history are pursued with much success. The Creoles applied themselves with much earnestness to theology and law, for in those pursuits alone was honour to be obtained. They actually took the degree of doctor from the universities, of which there were nine in Spanish America.

All access to the Spanish settlements was not merely closed to foreigners, but even

the inhabitants of the different provinces were prohibited from intercourse with one another; *ley* 8. *tit.* 18. *lib.* 4. *Cedula of* 1609; *ley* 69 and 68. *tit.* 45. *lib.* 9. *Recopilacion de Indias.* Commerce was exclusively carried on with Spain, and was almost entirely in the hands of the Spaniards. *Ley* 7. *tit.* 87. *libro* 9. *de la Recopilacion*, prohibits the *inhabitants* of *Spanish America, under penalty of death, to trade with foreigners on any pretext whatever.* About the end of the last century, there were some few instances of special licenses having been obtained from the viceroys and captains-general to trade with the Antillas, in cases of very difficult communication with the mother country. In 1797 the court of Madrid was under the necessity of allowing some of the ports of Terra Firma to be opened for the advantage of commerce; for, in consequence of the war, Spain found herself unable to supply her distant colonies with those European articles they had long been accustomed to, and which had consequently become to them necessaries. Urged by similar motives, Cisneros, the viceroy of the provinces

of *Rio de la Plata*, in 1809 opened the ports of Buenos Ayres, that a free trade might be carried on with the nations in alliance with Spain.

The court of Madrid very long maintained its power in the new continent, though supported by but a small number of Spanish troops, the Creoles being cordially attached to the mother country, and the Indians unable to free themselves: but about the middle of the last century there was in Caraccas a plan of conspiracy formed by a Canarian named *Leon*, who, trusting to the support of his partizans, whom he considered numerous, intended to destroy the company of *Guipuscoa*, to which the privilege had been granted of exclusively trading with Venezuela. His design was however discovered, he was condemned to death, his house razed to the ground, and a column placed on the spot to perpetuate horror of his plan.

An act of injustice to which Don J. G. Tupac-Amaru had been exposed by the Audiencia of Lima, and the insults he had received from a corregidor, added to a feeling of the abject state to which the Indian

nations were reduced by the oppressions of the *Repartimientos*, and by the new taxes imposed upon them, gave rise to the insurrection which took place in Peru in 1780. By the system of the *Repartimientos*, the Indians were obliged to receive their necessary supplies of goods, hardware, and mules from the corregidores at the prices they fixed, and on the credit they thought proper to give.

The exertions of several individuals who came forward in the general cause, at the instigation of Tupac-Amaru, soon spread a spirit of resistance for three hundred leagues through the interior of the country, where the most bloody scenes soon were exhibited. It was at first little more than a slight revolt of the native Indians against the oppression of the corregidores and other agents of government. The contest lasted three years with varied success, and Tupac-Amaru had been hailed Ynca of Peru. The conduct of Tupac-Amaru, however, did not conciliate the minds of the people, and the efforts of the Indians became feeble, partly on account of the difficulty they found in being supplied with arms and ammunition.

The combined attacks of the troops of Buenos Ayres and Lima, then gave confidence to the Spaniards, in whose favour the greatest part of the people declared, notwithstanding their earnest desire for a change in the administration. Tupac-Amaru, and many of the principal leaders of the faction, were put to death in a shocking manner.

In 1781, in consequence of some reforms, and additional taxes imposed in New Grenada, by the Regente Pineres, the province of Socorro, one of the most populous of that viceroyalty, openly declared against the late changes; and having assembled near seventeen thousand men, they marched against Santa Fè de Bogota, crying, "Long live the king, but death to our bad governors." The capital was in a defenceless state, and they proceeded in triumph till they reached the plain called *Mortino*, about twelve leagues from Santa Fè, where they met the archbishop Gongora, dressed in his pontifical robes, holding the host in his hands. At such an unexpected meeting the Socorrenos halted, impressed with awe and astonishment; and the archbishop, availing himself of this happy moment, pro-

posed to their leader, Don Salvador Plata, to hold a conference. The result was, that they came to terms of accommodation, and the assembled multitude dispersed. The Socorrenos afterwards complained that the articles of capitulation were never complied with.

Some few Creoles and Spaniards, well acquainted with the principles laid down by the French politicians in the early period of the French Revolution, and even with those of the writers who had immediately preceded that period, formed a plan for revolution in Caraccas in 1797. They treated with contempt the Spanish government, their navy having received many severe blows; and above all trusting to the protection of the English, in consequence of Mr. Pitt's well-known plan of giving independence to Terra Firma. The conspiracy was discovered when on the eve of breaking out, and the ostensible leaders, Don M. Gual and Don J. M. Espana, made their escape to the neighbouring island. Don Espana returned two years after to La Guayra, but being discovered, he was hanged. The following is Sir

Thomas Picton's proclamation, which was circulated through the contiguous islands at that time: "By virtue of an official "paper, which I, the governor of this "island of Trinidad, have received from "the right honourable Henry Dundas, "minister of his Britannic Majesty for "foreign affairs, dated, 7th April 1797, "which I here publish in obedience to "orders, and for the use which your Ex-"cellencies may draw from its publication, "in order that you may communicate its "tenor, which is literally as follows:— "'The object which at present I desire "most particularly to recommend to your "attention, is the means which might be "best adapted to liberate the people of "the continent near to the island of Trini-"dad, from the oppressive and tyrannick "system which supports, with so much "rigour, the monopoly of commerce, "under the title of exclusive registers, "which their government licenses de-"mand; also to draw the greatest ad-"vantages possible, and which the local "situation of the island presents, by "opening a direct and free communica-

" tion with the other parts of the world,
" without prejudice to the commerce of
" the British nation. In order to fulfil
" this intention with greater facility, it
" will be prudent for your Excellency to
" animate the inhabitants of Trinidad in
" keeping up the communication which
" they had with those of Terra Firma,
" previous to the reduction of that island;
" under the assurance, that they will find
" there an *entrepôt*, or general magazine
" of every sort of goods whatever. To
" this end, his Britannick Majesty has
" determined in council to grant freedom
" to the ports of Trinidad, with a direct
" trade to Great Britain.'

" With regard to the hopes you en-
" tertain of raising the spirits of those
" persons, with whom you are in cor-
" respondence, towards encouraging the
" inhabitants *to resist the oppressive au-*
" *thority of their government, I have little*
" *more to say, than that they may be*
" *certain, that whenever they are in that*
" *disposition, they may receive at your*
" *hands all the succours to be expected*
" *from his Britannick Majesty; be it with*

" *forces, or with arms and ammunition to*
" *any extent; with the assurance, that the*
" *views of his Britannick Majesty go no*
" *further than to secure to them their*
" *independence, without pretending to any*
" *sovereignty over their country, nor even*
" *to interfere in the privileges of the people,*
" *nor in their political, civil, or religious*
" *rights.*"

Puerto de Espana, 26th June 1797. } THOMAS PICTON, &c. &c.

To assist the revolutionary party in Spanish America, the English cabinet paid the expedition of Miranda to Venezuela in 1806, and sent that of Whitelocke to Buenos Ayres in 1807, both of which however failed.

The different attacks made by the English and French on the coasts of Spanish America obliged the Spaniards to form a plan for raising an additional military force to assist the army already stationed in the ports, in case of any renewed attack. The civil commotions above alluded to gave rise likewise to a desirable military system, for placing the capitals in a situation which might enable the chiefs

both to give and receive support in case of any insurrection. But although the troops were chiefly concentrated in the capitals, some were still kept in the provinces to enforce allegiance in case of necessity.

When we observe the attachment of the Spaniards to their country, the respect the Creoles entertained for Spain, the feeble minds of the Indians, and the state of political insignificance in which the other races were kept, it is not wonderful that for three centuries they should have submitted to be governed by laws established in a country more than two thousand leagues distant, without making any effort for independence. And when some enterprising characters endeavoured to excite revolt, the difficulties which attended their undertaking, and the facility with which the Spanish government stifled their plans for independence, may easily be accounted for, by the vigilance of the chiefs, as well as of the inquisition, and the apathy of the Creoles, the natural consequence of their education.

I do not pretend, however, to assert

that the inhabitants of Spanish America were satisfied with the court of Madrid; on the contrary, I affirm that they were highly discontented. The following were grievances of which they complained: 1st, The arbitrary power exercised by the viceroys and captains-general, who very often eluded the laws, and even the orders they received from the king; see *ley* 173. *tit.* 15. *lib.* 2. *de la Recopilacion*, in which it complains that the *officers sent by the king to Spanish America were frequently impeached and deposed, which was never the case with those nominated by the viceroys.* 2d, That the audiencias were composed of Europeans, who in trials were sole judges, and who had the power of interpreting the laws in their very application. 3d, That it was under the authority of the audiencias that clandestine decisions were often made, nocturnal arrests, banishment without previous trial, and numerous other hardships. 4th, That they were treated with distrust by the govern-
nt, notwithstanding the loyalty which
nifested in the war for succession
of Spain, in their resistance

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to the crown

to the suggestions of the French and English to induce them to revolt, and, above all, in the loyal behaviour and uncommon courage which they displayed when Carthagena and Buenos Ayres were attacked by the English. 5th, That they were obliged to bear insults from the meanest of the Spaniards, who, merely because of their European birth, considered themselves superior, and, as it were, masters of the Spanish Americans. Among many other examples of this, the report may be quoted, which was made to the king by his fiscal, on the petition of the city of Merida de Maracaybo in Venezuela to found a university; the opinion of the Fiscal was, that "the petition was to be refused," "because *it was unsuitable to promote learning in Spanish America, where the inhabitants appeared destined by nature to work in the mines.*" After a pretended solemn deliberation of the consulado or board of trade in Mexico, the members informed the cortes, that "the Indians *were a race of monkeys, filled with vice and ignorance, automatons, unworthy* of *representing* or *being represented.*" 6th, That, notwithstanding

the original compact made between the king, and the first settlers in Spanish America, ley 13. titulo 2. libro 3. de la Recopilacion, which stipulated, "that in all cases of government, justice, administration of finances, commissions, &c. the first discoverers, then the *pacificadors*, and, lastly, the settlers, and *those born in the said provinces*, were to be preferred in all appointments and public employments;" the Creoles were gradually shut out from all participation in local commands and dignities: for from the period of the first settlements until the year 1810, out of one hundred and sixty-six viceroys, and five hundred and eighty-eight captains-general, governors, and presidents appointed in Spanish America, only eighteen have been Creoles, and these few only in consequence of their having been educated in Spain; when at the same time the Creoles were prohibited from visiting the mother country without an express permission from the king, which could only be obtained with much difficulty. 7th, That the prosperity of Spanish America was viewed with such a jealous eye by

the Spanish government, that no manufactories were permitted, though Spain could not furnish merchandise sufficient for the consumption of her settlements; and that even the plantations of the colonial produce were restricted. As an example of such restriction, although Spain paid considerable sums annually to Portugal for tobacco supplied from the Brazils, yet only a certain number of tobacco plants was allowed to be cultivated in South America, and that number was fixed by the king's officers; and were a single plant found more than the number allowed to each cultivator, the whole plantation was in danger of being rooted up. Another example of this kind was the prohibition of extracting oils, or of making wine or brandy, or of planting vines or almond trees in any province of Spanish America, excepting Peru or Chili; and that exception was in consequence of the length of the voyage from Spain for articles of so heavy a nature; and even the wine, almonds, &c. produced in Chili and Peru, were not permitted to be sent to Mexico, New Grenada, or Terra Firma; titulo 18.

libro 14. de la Recopilacion: and to counterbalance these privileges enjoyed in Chili and Peru, to cultivate tobacco or the sugar-cane was forbidden in Chili. 8th, And in order to check the progress of population, and to keep distinct the different classes, there were many laws tending to put obstacles to marriage. *Vide cedulas sobre el disenso, y varias leyes del Recopilacion sobre los matrimonios.*

Notwithstanding these complaints, Spanish America might have existed in its dependent state many generations, I might say centuries. The court of Madrid knew perfectly well how to answer the petitions of its American subjects without redressing their grievances; how to keep them distant from public affairs; how to grant or to refuse their demands, without impairing the general system of exclusion with regard to them adopted by Spain. But Napoleon Bonaparte, who was in fact already master of the peninsula, and possessor of the wealth of America by the influence he had in the court of Madrid, having invaded the kingdom, and seized the royal family of Spain, loosened those

bonds which united the new to the old world, and gave rise to a revolution which, from the wide extent of country in which it is seated, its character, and consequences, is unparalleled in the annals of history.

CHAPTER SECOND.

THE CONFUSION IN THE STATE OF SPAIN PRODUCED BY BONAPARTE'S SEIZURE OF THE KING, AND INVASION, LEAVES THE SPANISH AMERICANS AT A LOSS HOW TO ACT. — THEIR LOYAL BEHAVIOUR. — THE FIRST ATTEMPTS TO ESTABLISH JUNTAS IN AMERICA.

IN the deserted state in which Spain considered herself in consequence of the supposed arrangements made at Bayonne in 1808, those provinces which were still unoccupied by the French established for themselves assemblies under the denomination of *juntas*, each assuming in its respective district the supreme authority. That of *Seville*, taking the appellation of *junta suprema gubernativa de Espana e Indias*, sent deputies into every part of America, who, the better to succeed in their mission, falsely represented that the junta of Seville was acknowledged and obeyed throughout Spain, and required in America a similar acknowledgment of its authority.

At the same time the regency established by king Ferdinand at Madrid, before his departure to meet Napoleon Bonaparte, endeavoured likewise to obtain the acknowledgment of its own superior power in America. Even the junta of Asturias asserted superiority, and required the acknowledgment of this superiority, denying that of the junta of Seville.

The moment for freedom seemed at length to present itself to America, wearied and exhausted by three centuries of continued suffering. Spain invaded by a colossal power—its fortresses in the hands of its enemies—all unity in the government broken—what a favourable era for the emancipation of the new world! But the Americans were so sincerely attached to the mother country—the news from the old continent was given to them with such false colouring—the struggle of the Spanish nation appeared so dignified, the situation of the royal family so lamentable and interesting, that, paralized by the surprize, and moved by compassion, they lost the happy moment for action. Had Spanish America

at that period separated herself from the mother country, from whence would Spain have derived power to support such a long-continued war, which has in part contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte ?

The behaviour of the Spanish governors of America, under these circumstances, forms a powerful contrast with that of the American subjects. With the exception of the viceroy of Mexico, all seemed willing to acknowledge that allegiance which was to be transferred to Bonaparte, according to the order contained in the decree signed by the council of the Indies. This commanded the acknowledgment of the cessions made at Bayonne, &c. and confirmed the Spanish chiefs in their employments. The American subjects alone opposed the change ; they publickly burned the proclamations sent out by Bonaparte, and expelled his agents. The following letter accurately describes the feelings of the Americans in Venezuela on this occasion, and the manner in which those feelings were expressed.

"From Captain Beaver to Sir Alexander Cochrane:

"*La Guayra, July* 19, 1808.

"Sir—Events of singular importance occurring at present in the province of Venezuela, I have thought it necessary to despatch to you, without loss of time, the late French corvette Le Serpent, in order that you might, as early as possible, be made acquainted with those events which have already occurred, as well as be able to form some opinion of those which will probably follow.

"The port of La Guayra I made in the morning of the 15th, and while standing in for the shore, with the cartel flag flying, I observed a brig under French colours just coming to an anchor. She had arrived the preceding night from Cayenne, with despatches from Bayonne, and had anchored about two miles from the town, to which she was now removing. I was never nearer than five miles to her, and could not have thrown a shot over her before she was close under the Spanish batteries, and therefore I attempted not to chase.

"Just before I set out for Caraccas, the

captain of the French brig returned exceedingly displeased, I was told, having been publickly insulted in that city.

"About three o'clock I arrived at Caraccas, and presented your despatches to the captain-general, who received me very coldly, or rather uncivilly, observing, that that hour was very inconvenient to him and to me; and that as I had not dined, I had better go and get some dinner, and return to him in a couple of hours.

"On entering the city, I observed a great effervescence among the people, like something which either precedes or follows a popular commotion; and as I entered the large inn of the city, I was surrounded by inhabitants of almost all classes.

"I here learned that the French captain who had arrived yesterday had brought intelligence of every thing which had taken place in Spain in favour of France; that he had announced the accession in the Spanish throne of Joseph Bonaparte, and had brought orders to the government from the French emperor.

"The city was immediately in arms; 10,000 of its inhabitants surrounded the

residence of the captain-general, and demanded the proclamation of Ferdinand the seventh as their king; which he promised the next day. But this would not satisfy them: they proclaimed him that evening by heralds, in form, throughout the city, and placed his portrait, illuminated, in the gallery of the town-house.

"TheFrench were first publickly insulted in the coffee-house, from whence they were obliged to withdraw; and the French captain left Caraccas privately, about eight o'clock that night, escorted by a detachment of soldiers, and so saved his life; for about ten o'clock his person was demanded of the governor by the populace, and when they learned that he was gone, three hundred men followed him, to put him to death.

"Though coldly received by the governor, I was surrounded by all the respectable inhabitants of the city, and hailed as their deliverer. The news which I gave them from Cadiz was devoured with avidity, and produced enthusiastic shouts of gratitude to England.

"Returning to the governor about five o'clock, the first thing I demanded was

the delivering to me the French corvette, or at least the permitting me to take possession of her in the roads, in consequence of the circumstances under which she had entered. Both these he positively refused, as well as to take possession of her himself; but, on the contrary, he told me he had given orders for her immediate sailing. I made him acquainted with the orders I had given for her seizure if she sailed, to which he assented; and I at the same time told him, that if she were not in the possession of the Spaniards at my return, I should take her myself. He replied, that he should send orders to the commandant of La Guayra to fire upon me if I did; to which I replied, that the consequence would fall upon him; and I further told him, that I considered his reception of me at Caraccas as that of an enemy rather than of a friend, while at the same time I had brought him information of hostilities having ceased between Great Britain and Spain; and that his conduct towards the French was that of a friend, while he knew that Spain was at war with France. He replied, that Spain was not at war with

France; to which I again replied, what could he consider as war, if the captivity of two of her kings, and taking possession of Madrid was not to be so considered? He only replied, that he knew nothing of it from the Spanish government, and that what your despatches informed him of he did not consider official."

Some months after this wonderful attachment evinced for the mother country, a considerable number of the most respectable families of Caraccas presented a petition to the captain-general *Casas* for permission to elect a junta similar to those in Spain. This was in consequence of the interior commotions in the peninsula; and though the fundamental principles on which the petition was founded were taken from the laws, the petitioners were arrested. Among the subscribers to the petition were the Marquis del Toro, the Marquis de Casa-Leon, the Count del Tobar, Count San-Xavier, and many others: though arrested, they were released after a confinement of a very few days.

A French brig, bearing an envoy from Napoleon Bonaparte, reached the shores of

Buenos Ayres towards the end of July 1808, and by him the viceroy Liniers was informed of the events which had taken place in the peninsula. Liniers assembled the cabildo and the audiencia to consult on the plan of conduct most advisable for him to adopt in such extraordinary circumstances; and it was agreed that the viceroy should publickly make known what was passing in the mother country. Liniers therefore addressed a proclamation to the people of Buenos Ayres, intimating his intentions; and this proclamation is an instance of the impositions the governors of Spanish America were accustomed to use, to mislead the inhabitants. In this curious document he mentioned, but obscurely, the changes which had taken place in Spain; and reminded the people of Buenos Ayres of the indifference they had shown in the war for succession to the crown of Spain; he concluded by assuring them of the high esteem the emperor Napoleon entertained for them in consequence of their triumphs over the English, and exhorted them, in the name of Bonaparte, to remain quiet. Don Xavier Elio, then governor of Montevideo,

having a personal enmity to Liniers, availed himself of these transactions to accuse him of disloyalty, and by this means separated the country under his command from its allegiance to him, by forming a junta in imitation of those of Spain. Don J. Goyeneche arrived at this epocha at Montevideo, with despatches from the junta of Seville, and, having highly approved the conduct of Elio in forming a junta, said, that "his mission had no other object than to promote the establishing similar assemblies to secure the tranquillity of the country." Goyeneche used very different language at Buenos Ayres and Lima; and his conduct, when he conquered the troops which supported the junta of La Paz, proves evidently his principles in that respect.

The news of the general insurrection in Spain reached Mexico on the 29th of July 1808. The enthusiasm which it had produced was still in full force, when the arrival of two deputies from the junta of Seville was announced, who were come to claim the sovereign command of Spanish America for that corporation. Such was the general disposition in favour of the pen-

insula, that it appears probable, that the Mexicans would have acceded to the demands of the junta, if, during the debates in a meeting of the civil and military officers which the viceroy had convened, despatches had not arrived announcing the establishment of the junta of Asturias, and expressly warning the Mexicans against acknowledging the Andalusian junta. It may easily be conceived how this declared rivalship must have affected the opinions which the Mexicans had formed of the spirit of the Spanish revolution.

The following is an extract of the remonstrance presented by the municipality of Mexico, on the 5th of August 1808, to viceroy Iturrigaray, for the assembling of a junta of the tribunals and constituted authorities in the capital :

" Juntas of the government, and respectable bodies of the cities and kingdoms, are no more than in exact conformity to the law, which ordains that all arduous cases shall be considered of in general assemblies. As in existing circumstances, in consequence of the seizure of the king, the sovereignty is vested in the nation, in order that its inter-

ests may be consulted, the united authorities, together with the municipalities, which are the heads of the people, do exactly the same as would the monarch himself for the general welfare.

"Mexico has in view the same principles that influenced Seville, Valencia, and the other cities of Spain; and she is empowered, in like manner as the above two faithful capitals, to do what she conceives is advisable in such urgent circumstances.

"These examples point out what ought to be done—to organize a governing junta, composed of the royal audiencia, the archbishop, municipality, and deputies from the tribunals, ecclesiastical and secular bodies, the nobility, and principal citizens, as well as the military. This junta shall deliberate on the most weighty subjects that concern us, which shall be determined conformably to our interests.

"The junta is necessary, for although we are at present free from the urgent danger which threatened us on the side of France, we nevertheless ought not to neglect our means of defence, till we receive such positive advices as may place

us perfectly at ease. It is at the same time necessary to satisfy the wishes of the people, by restoring to them those means they formerly had of appeal to the council of the Indies, or to the person of the king; and, finally, many amendments ought to be made in the nomination to secular and ecclesiastical dignities. These are the only means, in consequence of the absence of the monarch, by which the kingdom, being thus united, may overcome all its difficulties.

"This union of authorities is likewise necessary, as being the best means to produce unanimity in the minds of the people; which will prevent the fatal consequences which must arise throughout the country from disunion. Every one will then be happy; their patriotism and wishes will be united by love, enthusiasm, and a sense of the public good.

"The city consequently thinks that the time is arrived for adopting the same means as have been carried into effect in Spain. The junta which your excellency is to form, for the present, of the authorities and respectable bodies above mentioned, when

the representatives of the kingdom are assembled, will carefully examine its interests, &c.

"But the two fundamental points on which the junta is to act, ought not to be forgotten. The first is, that the authorities retain the full extent of their power, in the same manner as if the derangement which we deplore in the monarchy had not taken place—that is, that your excellency shall still hold the same power which the laws grant, and that the same be observed with respect to the other tribunals. The second is, that in order to fill up the immense void which exists between the authority of your excellency and the sovereign, the proposed junta is to be had recourse to."

The viceroy appeared inclined to the measure proposed, and the old Spaniards were in consequence determined to depose him. He was old, and wanted vigour; he had besides no fixed plan of acting; he was afraid of exciting suspicions against his loyalty, and even proposed to resign his authority. This weakness was soon perceived by the Spaniards, and a conspiracy was formed against him. A merchant, a per-

sonal enemy to the viceroy, was placed at the head of the conspirators. The officers commanding the guard on the appointed day were bribed; and the merchant, followed by about four hundred Spaniards taken from the shops in Mexico, entered the viceroy's palace at midnight; they met with no resistance; they seized him and his lady, committed the latter to a nunnery, and the former to a prison of the inquisition.

The audiencia had secretly supported this measure, and the imprisonment of the viceroy was announced to the public, with the circumstance of the audiencia having assumed the right to nominate a new viceroy.

In order to concentrate their power, the Spanish provincial juntas had agreed to send deputies to form a general government, which should take the command of the nation; and when the news of the Mexican transactions reached the peninsula, this junta central, which was composed of the deputies already alluded to, was sitting at Seville. The joy of the junta central was unbounded, when intelligence

arrived that the viceroy of Mexico was a prisoner in Spain, accused of treachery. It never occurred to them to examine the grounds of accusation; nor did they once stop to reflect how greatly the ties of subordination must be relaxed, when a handful of persons, under no legitimate authority, could force the seat of government, and seize the chief magistrate with impunity.

The law of Spain required the establishment of a regency instead of this junta central; but its sway was acknowledged, and so efficaciously supported by the Spanish Americans, that more than ninety millions of dollars had been sent to Spain from her American settlements previous to the beginning of 1810. Nevertheless La Paz, which was the capital of one of the districts under the dominion of the audiencia of Charcas, considering Spain too feeble to free herself from the power of the French, wished to provide for its own security; and in the beginning of the year 1809 formed a government for itself, composed of many respectable persons, which was styled *junta intuitiva*. The magistrates of

Chuquisaca, capital of the audiencia of Charcas, did not oppose this motion; but the viceroy of Buenos Ayres sent an army for this purpose. At the same time general Goyeneche marched, by order of the viceroy of Peru, with a numerous body of troops against La Paz; and its army, commanded by the generals Lanza, Castro, and Yranburu, was beaten in the Alto de la Paz, and afterwards in that part of the country called Yrupana, about forty leagues distant from the city. The conqueror Goyeneche immediately proceeded to punish the patriots, numbers of whom were executed in the most shocking and ignominious manner. Quito, one of the provinces of Santa Fè de Bogota, and capital of the audience which bears its name, influenced by similar motives as La Paz, established likewise a separate government on the 10th of August 1809, naming the Marquis Selva Allegre, president. Though the will of the people seemed generally understood, this occurrence induced the viceroy of New Grenada, Don A. Amar, to convoke a junta of the principal persons of Santa Fè de Bogota, on the pretence of

asking their advice. The junta assembled in the viceroy's palace on the 7th of September 1809; and the general voice was in favour of the junta of Quito; they declared besides that a similar corporation should be formed in Santa Fè, which, while willing to recognise the junta central, and to act in concert with the viceroy, would prevent disturbances in the viceroyalty, should the peninsula be finally conquered by the French. The viceroy, who in reality only desired to ascertain who were disaffected to the present administration, dissolved the junta, appointing it to meet on the eleventh of the same month; and, being deaf, he required that every member of the junta should bring his vote *in scriptis.* The day appointed arrived, and the people of Santa Fè were much surprised to see the military preparations of the viceroy; the guards of the palace were doubled, and the barracks were in as great confusion as if the enemy were at their very doors. The junta met, and, notwithstanding this military pomp, every one presented his own vote, and the written votes added strength to the

opinions expressed by the members in the first junta. Many of the speeches in these assemblies were remarkable for the energy and freedom with which they were expressed. The names of Camilo de Torres, Fruto Gutierrez, father Padilla, J. Gregorio Gutierrez Moreno, and others, were from this period celebrated for their patriotism. The viceroy of Santa Fè de Bogota hastened, however, to destroy the junta of Quito by force of arms; and Abascal, the viceroy of Peru, did the same. The defenders of the junta, after some skirmishes, yielded to superiority of force, and the government was dissolved; but they previously received a promise from the Spanish president of Quito, conde Ruiz de Castilla, that the remembrance of past events should be totally obliterated. Regardless, however, of this promise, a great number of the patriots were arrested, and on the 2d of August in the following year, under pretence of an alarm given by the soldiers, they were massacred in the prison; and the troops of Lima, which were stationed in the city to preserve order, were allowed to pillage

at pleasure. The number of persons literally murdered in cold blood that day amounted to more than three hundred. In 1810, the junta of Caraccas commemorated the fate of these victims with funeral honours equally magnificent and solemn.

The news of these events soon reached the junta central; they had been preceded by advices of the ferment which was rapidly spreading through all the Spanish settlements. The declarations which the Americans had made of attachment to the mother country were sincere, but the hopes of reform in their government, so often promised, had never been realized. They began, in consequence, to grow weary of their dependence, and their attachment to Spain grew fainter every day. What will become of us, should Spain be conquered? was the universal question. The discussion of that subject led to others of deeper importance; and the junta central, desirous of lulling them into a state of apathy, issued a pompous declaration, in which "the colonies were declared equal to the mother country."

No reform was in fact made in the government, notwithstanding the declaration of the junta, whose members still continued receiving supplies of money from Spanish America, and sending Spaniards to occupy every publick employment. Such was the attention paid to the interests of the new continent!

CHAPTER THIRD.

THE DISPERSION OF THE CENTRAL JUNTA IN SPAIN, AND AN ILLEGAL ELECTION OF A REGENCY, DETERMINE MANY OF THE AMERICAN PROVINCES TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. — THE FORMATION OF DISTINCT GOVERNMENTS IN AMERICA.

TEN months had elapsed since the Americans had received intelligence of the victories of Baylen, Valencia, Saragosa, &c.; and that the invader of their mother country had been forced to collect his scattered forces beyond the Ebro. They were daily expecting to hear that Spain had regained her freedom by the valour of her arms, and that Ferdinand the seventh was restored, when news arrived that Bonaparte was master of Madrid; that the junta central had been driven to Andalusia; that general San Juan was murdered by his troops on a suspicion of disaffection; that many generals had acted a most treacherous part, among whom was Morla; and that there scarcely remained one in whom the people could

venture to repose the slightest confidence. The disappointment of the South Americans could only be equalled by their former expectations, yet supplies were sent regularly to the peninsula, and subscriptions were raised by every class of the people. Their opinion of the decision and courage of the Spanish people remained unshaken, and their misfortunes were attributed to treason. If, during this time, there were any disturbances or plans for reform in America, they are to be attributed to the misconduct of the Spanish chiefs, their illiberal views, and their mysterious proceedings, but not to any motives of radical disaffection to the mother country.

The intelligence of the Austrian war inspired them, however, with the greatest hopes, and the victory of Talavera was every where celebrated with enthusiasm. This joy did not last long. The news which followed was of a gloomy nature. The juntas of Seville and Valencia had protested against the central government. General de la Romana had published a manifesto, in which the power of the supreme

government was declared illegal; and, to complete their misfortunes, the Spanish armies had been repeatedly beaten.

Some time after, the French routed the whole Spanish army at Ocana, and there appeared nothing to impede their progress to Andalusia. The supposed fortified passages of Sierra Morena were found to be a mere deception; and the French entered Seville without the loss of a single man. The members of the junta central, having incurred the hatred of the people, dispersed; and the popular fury pursued and insulted them in their flight. Some of the members, though proclaimed as traitors, assembled in the isle of Leon, and, still trembling from apprehension of that death with which they were threatened, vested their power in a regency, consisting of five persons, whose authority could only extend to Cadiz and Galicia, the only parts of the kingdom of the peninsula which remained under the dominion of the Spaniards.

The members of the regency, conscious of the illegality of their election, and of their small power, did not dare to make

known even their existence to the Spanish Americans till their appointment had been supported by a manifesto of the merchants of Cadiz, where they soon after fixed their residence. The regency then addressed the Americans in a proclamation, which is one of the most interesting documents in the history of the revolution of Spanish America; for it frankly owns the despotism with which every Spanish ruler had until this period borne his sway over the Americans. The following remarkable address was in the proclamation: "Americans, ye have been "long weighed down by a yoke more "oppressive to bear, because ye were "distant from the centre of power. We "now place your future destiny in your "own hands. Ye have hitherto been the "foot ball, as it were, of the viceroys, "always subject to their ambition and "caprice, while at the same time ye were "a prey to their cupidity. From this "time your fate shall not depend on "them."

Intelligence of the dispersion of the junta central reached Caraccas in the

year 1810, and was immediately followed by the proclamation of the regency. In this critical situation, the inhabitants of Caraccas, convinced that there were no remaining hopes of any terms of accommodation with the captain-general Emparan, who required a blind submission to every species of government emanating from Spain—imagining that the peninsula would finally be possessed by the French—aware that the intention of the Spanish chiefs, both in Spain and in Spanish America, was, that America should share the fate of Spain *—considering the regency as an illegal government, merely formed by a few members of the junta central, whose power had been denied, they resolved to try to obtain by force what reasonable representation had failed to obtain for them. The greatest ardour for success was evinced. Stimulated by patriotick zeal, spurred on by the despotism of the Spanish chiefs, encouraged by

* The regency of Cadiz, in an address to the Spanish Americans, used these words: "It is not sufficient for you to be Spaniards, unless, whatever be the event of fortune, you also belong to Spain."

the voice of the inhabitants, the Spanish governors were deposed, and the municipal body, in conjunction with many persons named by the voice of the people, assumed the reins of government, and the appellation of *junta suprema.* The acts of the junta were published in the name of king Ferdinand the seventh. In many proclamations, though without acknowledging the superiority of the regency, all possible aid was offered for the continuance of the war against the French.

The establishment of the junta of Buenos Ayres was effected with more tranquillity than that of Caraccas. The viceroy Cisneros, having informed the inhabitants of the tragical events of the peninsula, made known at the same time the uncertainty he felt respecting the maintenance of his own authority; and the cabildo, availing itself of this declaration, presented a petition to him, requesting that he would assemble a congress, which might decide what steps it was desirable to take in such a juncture. The viceroy granted the petition of the cabildo, and the congress assembled the

22d of May. It was there decided that a junta should be formed, which was done on the 25th of the same month.

A European, keeping a shop in Santa Fè de Bogota, insulted a private individual who was passing by, including all his countrymen in his insults, and using the most opprobrious language. The quarrel raised a mob of Creoles and Spaniards, which was followed by a contest between them; and the Creoles being triumphant; this gave rise to the assembling a junta on the 20th of July. Intelligence of the dispersion of the junta central, and of a junta having been formed at Caraccas, had been previously received.

The arbitrary measures of the captain-general Carrasco irritated so much the people of Chili, that he was obliged to resign his office. A junta was also formed there on the 18th of September.

The arrest of the viceroy Iturrigaray in Mexico, on the 15th of September 1808, by a party of Europeans, excited a strong rivalship between them and the South Americans. The death of several of the latter, and the arrests of others accused

of disaffection to the court, increased the indignation of the Mexicans; and the arrival of the viceroy Venegas, bringing rewards and honours for the instigators of the European faction, as well as for others concerned in it, produced an insurrection, on the 16th of September 1810, in the town of Dolores near Guanaxuato. This insurrection soon extended through the whole country *.

* Vide the observations presented to the cortes by the deputies from Spanish America on the 1st of August 1811.

CHAPTER FOURTH.

WAR DECLARED AGAINST THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENTS BY THE REGENCY.— THE CRUELTIES OF THE SPANIARDS ALIENATE COMPLETELY THE MINDS OF THE AMERICANS FROM THE MOTHER COUNTRY. — DECLARATION OF THE JUNTA OF CARACCAS. — USELESS ATTEMPTS TO OBTAIN REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES MADE BY AMERICAN MEMBERS OF THE CORTES. — JOSEPH BONAPARTE, TO FORWARD HIS INTERESTS IN OLD SPAIN, SENDS EMISSARIES TO AMERICA, OFFERING INDEPENDENCE. — ENGLAND PROPOSES TO MEDIATE BETWEEN SPAIN AND HER COLONIES.— RESTORATION OF KING FERDINAND DOES NOT BRING PEACE. — GENERAL MORILLO SENT FROM SPAIN AGAINST VENEZUELA.

"SCARCELY had the council of regency," says the decree of the regency when it declared Caraccas in a state of blockade, "received intelligence of the occurrences at Caraccas, whose inhabitants, instigated no doubt by some intriguing and factious persons, were guilty of *declaring themselves independent of the mother country, and of forming a governing junta to exercise this supposed independent authority, when it determined to take the most active and efficacious*

means to attack the evil in its origin, and prevent its progress. But, in order to proceed with mature deliberation, the regency consulted the council of Spain and the Indies, and has taken such measures as will answer the end proposed, particularly as neither the province of Maracaybo, nor the department of Coro, have taken part in the criminal proceedings; but, *on the contrary, have acknowledged the council of regency, and taken the most efficacious measures to oppose the absurd idea of Caraccas declaring herself independent, without being possessed of the means of obtaining this independence!* The regency hereby declares the province of Caraccas in a 'state of rigorous blockade," &c. "These resolutions do not extend to the above-mentioned divisions, which, having refused to follow the pernicious example of Caraccas, have manifested their constant fidelity by opposing the plan of rebellion, which only originated in the unlimited ambition of some persons, and in the blind credulity of others who suffered themselves to be hurried away by the ardent passions of their fellow-

countrymen. The regency has taken the most secure measures to extirpate these evils, and to punish the authors of them with all the rigour which the rights of sovereignty authorize it to use, unless there be a previous and voluntary submission, in which case the regency grants them a general pardon. The regency commands that these resolutions be circulated through all the Spanish dominions, that they may be carried into effect there as well as in foreign countries, and that they may act conformably to the measures taken for the blockade of the said coasts," &c.

When this decree was published, the 31st of August 1810, the council of regency had been officially informed by the junta of Caraccas of the reasons which had weighed with the people of Venezuela to induce them to assemble a junta, and which were nearly the same as those which required similar measures to be adopted in other parts of Spanish America, where they refused to acknowledge the authority of the regency. These reasons are contained in the answer of the supreme junta

of Caraccas to the Marquis de las Hermazas, minister in Spain, and which has been published in Walton's Exposé to the Prince Regent of England*.

The answer of the junta of Caraccas excited great indignation in the members of the regency and the people of Cadiz, who expected nothing from the Spanish Americans but a submissive conformity to their decrees; and their disappointment reached the highest pitch, when they found that all Spanish America was actuated by the same spirit, though its different provinces were not acting in concert with each other. War seemed the prevailing wish of the merchants of Cadiz, and of the cortes which had been assembled by the regency: from thence arose invectives and sarcasms, which were published in the Cadiz newspapers against the Spanish Americans. The missions of Don N. Cortivarria to Puerto Rico, of Don N.

* Vide the manifesto and proclamations of the junta of Santa Fè de Bogota, the proclamation of the junta of Buenos Ayres, Carthagena, and Quito; as well as the manifesto of the junta of Sultepec in Mexico, and the letter of the junta of Caraccas to the king of England.

Elio to Monte Video, of Don Benito Perez to Panama, and of Don N. Venegas to Mexico, were for the purpose of putting in motion every engine that could kindle civil war. Religious prejudices, flattering promises, private animosities, and threats were employed for this purpose. With similar intentions troops were sent to Monte Video, Vera Cruz, Coro, Panama, and Santa Marta, though at that time they were so important to the defence of their own country. Negotiations were carried on in the same spirit with the court of Brazil, respecting the pretensions of the queen to be appointed regent in the absence of king Ferdinand. The cortes, which had received their authority from the regency, shared its animosity against the Americans; and although there were in the cortes some American members, chosen from the Americans who happened to be at the time in the isle of Leon, they were scarcely allowed to speak of their country. "If the Americans," said one of the members of the cortes, "complain of having been tyrannized over for three hundred years, they shall now

experience a similar treatment for three thousand." "I am rejoiced," said another after the battle of Albufera, "at the advantage we have gained, because we can now send troops to reduce the insurgents." "I do not know to what class of beasts belong the Americans," said another*.

Under these unfavourable auspices began the war in Spanish America; and its long continuance, and the savage manner in which it is carried on, prove the irreconcilable animosity of the contending parties. The Spaniards are fighting to reconquer their once-possessed territories, the Spanish Americans to obtain independence. The first are cruel in the hour of triumph, and with adversity their enmity increases; the latter are courageous in attack, and, when defeated, still ready to place confidence in their leaders, and again to rally under their banners. The first possess greater military skill, the latter superiority of number. Both have uniformly shown a firmness and decision in action

* Vide the manifesto of Alvarez Toledo, deputy at the cortes.

suited to the high objects they have in view, and to the great obstacles they have to overcome. In these contests the blood of thousands has already inundated an extent of country of more than sixteen hundred leagues, which comprise the Spanish settlements in the new continent; and, as if the mortality in the field of battle were not sufficient, numbers are daily murdered in cold blood.

The Spanish chiefs and rulers gave the first example of violating capitulations, of shooting prisoners, and of refusing all means for accommodation, in that cruel war carried on in the new continent by the authority of the cortes of Spain, and by Ferdinand the seventh. I may indeed defy the old Spaniards of either world to find an excuse, or even a palliation, for their want of humanity, and breaches of faith, since the beginning of the revolution. The following are instances:

When Hidalgo approached the Mexican capital at the head of 80,000 men, he sent his envoys to Venegas with proposals of peace, which the viceroy refused to an-

swer. The junta of Sultepec made similar proposals in 1812, and the result was the same. General Miranda delivered up the fort of La Guayra, the town of Caraccas, and the provinces of Cumana and Barcelona to the Spanish general Monteverde by capitulation, who promised to bury in oblivion every thing militating against the Spanish government, and granting the liberty of emigration from Venezuela. Notwithstanding this treaty and solemn engagement, General Miranda was shortly after made a prisoner, thrown into a dungeon at Puerto Cabello, afterwards sent to Puerto Rico, and from thence to the prison of La Cartaca in Cadiz, where he lately died. During a truce between the armies of Peru commanded by General Goyeneche, and that of Buenos Ayres under the command of General Valcarce, an attack was made while the army of Buenos Ayres considered itself secure, confiding in the existing treaty. Belgrano, general of the patriots, who in 1812 had taken General Tristan prisoner, and the division he commanded of the army of Peru, generously

gave them liberty to return home, having received their pledged honour that they would not fight against Buenos Ayres. They, however, violated this sacred engagement a few days after. General Bolivar, having repeatedly defeated the royalists commanded by Monteverde in Venezuela, accepted terms of capitulation, which were never ratified. General Truxillo, in a despatch to Venegas, boasts of his having admitted a flag of truce, he being himself at the head of his troops, drawn up in battle array. The bearers of the flag of truce wore a banner of the Virgin Mary; this Truxillo asked for, and having obtained it, he gave orders for firing on these envoys. "By this means," he said, "I free myself of them and their proposals." General Calleja, informing the viceroy of Mexico that in the battle of Aculco he had only one man killed and two wounded, adds, that he put to the sword five thousand Indians, and that the loss of the insurgents amounted to ten thousand. General Calleja likewise entered Guanaxuato with fire and sword, where he sacrificed 14,000 old men, women, and children.

These and many more of General Calleja's achievements were well known in Spain when the regency appointed him successor to the viceroy Venegas. The conduct of Monteverde was likewise approved when he was appointed captain-general of Venezuela, after breaking the terms of capitulation with Miranda; and what formed his excuse for this breach of faith was, that he was not empowered to capitulate with the insurgents.

Acts of cruelty on the part of the Spanish chiefs, and of approbation in the regency and cortes, exasperated the newly-formed governments in Spanish America, and gave strength to their decisions. The revolutionary spirit was confined at first to very few persons; it soon spread, however, through the whole continent. The conduct of the central junta, and of the cortes of Spain, extended the same spirit, by irritating the minds of the people, who were now resolved to avail themselves of existing circumstances, and declare themselves independent of the mother country. The following is the act of independence published by the congress of Venezuela.

"In the name of the all-powerful God:

"We, the representatives of the united provinces of Caraccas, Cumana, Barinas, Margarita, Barcelona, Merida, and Truxillo, forming the united confederation of Venezuela in the southern continent, in congress assembled, considering the full and absolute possession of our rights, which we received justly and legally the 19th of April 1810, in consequence of the occurrences at Bayonne, of the Spanish throne being possessed by a conqueror, and of a new government having succeeded, constituted without our consent: We are desirous, before we make use of those rights, of which we have been deprived for more than three ages, but are now restored to us by the political order of human events, to make known to the world those reasons which have emanated from these occurrences, and which authorize us in the free use we are going to make of our own sovereignty.

"Nevertheless, we do not wish to begin by alleging the rights inherent in every conquered country to recover its state of property and independence. We ge-

nerously forget the long series of ills, injuries, and privations which the sole right of conquest has indistinctly caused to all the descendants of the discoverers, conquerors, and settlers of these countries. Plunged into a worse state by the very same cause that ought to have favoured them, and drawing a veil over the three hundred years of Spanish dominion in America, we will now only present to view those authenticated facts which ought to have wrested from one world the right over the other, by the inversion, disorder, and conquest which have already dissolved the Spanish nation.

"This disorder has increased the evils in America, by rendering void its claims and remonstrances; enabling the governors of Spain to insult and oppress this part of the nation, by leaving it without the succour and guaranty of the laws.

"It is contrary to order, impossible to the government of Spain, and fatal to the welfare of America, that the latter, possessed of a range of country infinitely more extensive, and a population more numerous than that of Spain, should be

dependent on and subject to a small peninsula in the European continent.

"The cessions and abdication at Bayonne, the revolutions of the Escurial and Aranjuez, and the orders of the royal substitute, the duke of Berg being sent to America, suffice to give virtue to the rights which until then the Americans had sacrificed to the unity and integrity of the Spanish nation.

"Venezuela was the first to acknowledge and generously to preserve this integrity; nor did she abandon the cause of her fellow-countrymen while they retained the least hope of salvation.

"America was called into a new state of existence, since the period when she felt that she could and ought to take upon herself the charge of her own fate and preservation, &c.

"The governments that arrogated to themselves the national representation took advantage of those dispositions which confidence, distance, oppression, and ignorance created in the Americans against the new government which had entered

Spain by means of force; and, contrary to their own principles, they maintained among us the illusion in favour of Ferdinand, in order to devour and harass us with impunity; they promised us liberty, equality, and fraternity, conveyed in pompous discourses and studied phrases, for the purpose of covering the snare laid by a cunning, useless, and degrading representation.

"As soon as they were dissolved, and had substituted and destroyed among themselves the various forms of the government of Spain,—and as soon as the imperious law of necessity had dictated to Venezuela the urgency of preserving herself, in order to guard and maintain the rights of her king, and to offer an asylum to her European brethren against the evils that threatened them,—their former conduct was disowned, they varied their principles, and gave the appellations of insurrection, perfidy, and ingratitude to the same acts that had served as models for the governments of Spain, because for them the gate was then closed to the advantageous admi-

nistration of public affairs, which they intended to perpetuate among themselves under the name of an imaginary king.

" Notwithstanding our remonstrances, our moderation, generosity, and the inviolability of our principles, contrary to the wishes of the majority of our brethren in Europe, we were declared in a state of rebellion; we were blockaded; war was declared against us; agents were sent among us to excite us one against the other, endeavouring to destroy our credit among the nations in Europe, and imploring their assistance to oppress us.

" Without taking the least notice of our reasons, without offering them to the impartial judgment of the world, and without any other judges than our enemies, we are condemned to be debarred from all intercourse with our mother country; and, to add contempt to calumny, empowered agents are named for us against our own express will, that in their cortes they may arbitrarily dispose of our interests under the influence and power of our enemies.

" In order to crush and suppress the ef-

fects of our representation when they were obliged to grant it to us, we were degraded to a paltry and diminutive scale, and the form of election depended on the passive voice of the municipal bodies, whose importance was lessened by the despotism of the governors. This was an insult to our confidence and frank mode of acting, rather than an acknowledgment of our incontestable political consequence.

"Always deaf to the cries of justice on our part, the governments of Spain have endeavoured to discredit all our efforts, by declaring as criminal, and stamping with infamy, and rewarding with the scaffold and confiscation, every attempt which the Americans, at different periods, have made for the welfare of their country; such was that which our own security lately dictated to us, that we might not be driven into that state of confusion which we foresaw, and hurried to that horrid fate which we hope soon to avert for ever. By means of such atrocious policy, they have succeeded in making our Spanish countrymen insensible to our misfortunes; in arming them against us; in erasing from their bosoms the sweet

impressions of friendship, of consanguinity; and converting into enemies members even of our own great family.

"When we, faithful to our promises, were sacrificing our security and civil dignity, not to abandon the rights which we generously preserved to Ferdinand of Bourbon, we have heard that, to the bonds of power which bound him to the emperor of the French, he has added the ties of blood and friendship; in consequence of which, even the governments of Spain have already declared their resolution only to acknowledge him conditionally *.

"In this sad alternative we have remained three years, in a state of political indecision and ambiguity so fatal and dangerous, that this alone would authorize the resolution which the faith of our promises and the bonds of fraternity had caused us to defer; till necessity obliged us to go beyond what we at first proposed, impelled by the hostile and unnatural conduct of the governments of Spain, which has freed us of our

* Ferdinand was at one time supposed to be married to a relation of Bonaparte.

conditional oath; by which circumstance we are called to the august representation we now exercise.

"But we, who glory in founding our proceedings on better principles, and not wishing to establish our felicity on the misfortunes of our fellow-beings, consider and declare as friends, as companions of our fate, and participators of our happiness, those who, united to us by the ties of blood, language, and religion, have suffered the same evils under the old order of things; provided they acknowledge our absolute independence of them, and of any foreign power whatever; that they assist us to maintain this independence with their lives, fortunes, and sentiments; declaring and acknowledging to us, as well as to every other nation, that we are in war enemies, in peace friends, brothers, and co-patriots.

"In consequence of all these solid, public, and incontestable reasons of policy, which so powerfully urge the necessity of recovering our natural dignity restored to us by the order of events, and in compliance with those unprescribed rights enjoyed by nations to destroy every compact, agree-

ment, or association which does not answer the purposes for which governments were established, we believe that we cannot nor ought not to preserve the bonds which hitherto kept us united to the governments of Spain; and that like all the other nations of the world, we are free, and authorized not to depend on any other authority than our own; and to take among the powers of the earth that place of equality which nature and the Supreme Being assign to us, and to which we are called by the succession of human events, urged on to our own good and utility.

"We are aware of the difficulties that attend, and the obligations imposed upon us by the rank we are going to take in the political order of the world, as well as of the powerful influence of forms and customs to which unfortunately we have been long used; we at the same time know that the shameful submission to them, when we can throw them off, would be still more ignominious for us, and fatal to our posterity, than our long and painful slavery; and that it now becomes an indispensable duty to provide for our own preservation, secu-

rity, and happiness, by essentially varying all the forms of our former constitution.

"Considering, therefore, that by the reasons thus alleged, we have satisfied the respect which we owe to the opinions of the human race and the dignity of other nations, into the number of which we now enter, and on whose communication and friendship we rely, we, the representatives of the united provinces of Venezuela, calling on the Supreme Being to witness the justice of our proceedings and the rectitude of our intentions, do implore his divine and celestial help; and ratifying, at the moment in which we are raised to the dignity which he restores to us, the desire we have of living and dying free, and of believing and defending the holy catholic and apostolic religion of Jesus Christ. We, therefore, in the name and authority which we hold from the virtuous people of Venezuela, declare solemnly to the world, that its united provinces are and ought to be from this day, by act and right, free, sovereign, and independent states; and that they are absolved from every submission and dependence on the throne of Spain, or on those

who do or may call themselves its agents or representatives; and that a free and independent state, thus constituted, has full power to take that form of government which may be conformable to the general will of the people; to declare war, make peace, form alliances, regulate treaties of commerce, limits, and navigation, and to do and transact every act in like manner as other free and independent states. And that this our solemn declaration may be held valid, firm, and durable, we hereby mutually bind each province to the other, and pledge our lives, fortunes, and the sacred tie of our national honour. Done in the federal palace of Caraccas. Signed by our own hands, sealed with the great provisional seal of the confederation, and countersigned by the secretary of congress, this 5th day of July 1811, the first of our independence.

"JUAN ANTONIO RODRIGUEZ DOMINGUEZ, President.
LUIS IGNACIO MENDOZA, Vice-President.
FRANCISCO ISNARDY, Secretary."

Similar declarations were made in Mexico, and in Carthagena, Socorro, Tunja, Pamplona, Antioquia, and the other

provinces, which composed the confederation of New Grenada, and latterly by the congress of Buenos Ayres.

When the Spanish cortes perceived the end which the American subjects had in view, and which was the consequence of impolitick proceedings of the regency, they began to be alarmed; and the few American members were allowed a hearing. Before this period the same Americans had presented to the cortes the plan of a decree which offered some redress for the grievances Spanish America had experienced from the preceding governments; but the cortes rejected the plan. These Americans again put in their claims on the 16th of November and the 31st of December 1810, and they were likewise rejected. However, in January 1811, their claims, contained in eleven propositions, were discussed; but in the following month of February they were rejected, or at least deferred to an indefinite period. The eleven propositions alluded to may give some idea of the redress that had been sought in vain by the Spanish settlements for three centuries.

"1st, In conformity to the decree of the central junta, dated the 15th of October 1809, which declared the inhabitants of Spanish America equal in rights to those of the peninsula, the national representation of every part of Spanish America, the Spanish West Indies, and the Philippine Islands, including every class of their inhabitants, shall be the same in form, manner, and without distinction, as in the kingdom and islands of European Spain.

"2dly, The free natives and inhabitants of Spanish America shall be allowed to plant and to cultivate whatever their climate will produce; with license to encourage industry, and to promote manufactures and arts in their fullest extent.

"3dly, Spanish America shall enjoy the liberty of exporting her own natural and manufactured productions to the peninsula, as well as to the allies, and to neutral nations; and of importing whatever she may want. All her ports are consequently to be opened." This and the preceding demand were agreed to, but the order to carry them into execution was never published.

" 4thly, There shall be a free trade between Spanish America and the Spanish settlements in Asia. Every thing militating against this freedom to be abolished.

" 5thly, Freedom of trade to be granted from all the ports in Spanish America and the Philippine Islands to other parts of Asia. Any law existing contrary to such freedom to be annulled.

" 6thly, All estancos, or monopolies in favour of the publick treasury or of the king, shall be suppressed; but the publick treasury shall be indemnified for the loss of profit arising from such monopoly, by new duties on the same articles.

" 7thly, The working the quicksilver mines shall be free in Spanish America, but the administration of the produce shall remain in charge of the officers of the minery department, independent of the viceroys and captains-general, and officers of the *real hacienda.*" This was granted, and orders were published for carrying it into execution in the provinces under the Spaniards.

" 8thly, All Spanish Americans shall be eligible equally with Spaniards to all ap-

pointments of rank or emolument, whether at court or in any part of the monarchy, either in political, military, or ecclesiastical departments.

" 9thly, Consulting the natural protection of each kingdom in Spanish America, half of the publick appointments shall be filled by Spanish subjects born in America.

" 10thly, That the above stipulations may be punctually adhered to, a consultive junta shall be formed in each capital, to the intent that it may propose persons suited to fill each vacancy.

" 11thly, Considering the great advantages resulting from the cultivation of science, and the benefits that may be derived from instructing the Indians, the order of the Jesuits to be re-established by the cortes."

The conduct of the different governments maintaining the rights of Ferdinand the seventh, opposing the freedom of the Americans, and that of Joseph Bonaparte aiding it, make a singular contrast. The fate of the French commissioners who were sent to Spanish America to carry the acts of the cession of the crown of Spain in

favour of Bonaparte, and of his cession of the same crown in favour of his brother Joseph, gave early and convincing proofs to the Bonaparte family that the Americans did not espouse their cause. Seeing afterwards that the sums of money the peninsula daily received from the new world contributed so decidedly to protract the war in Spain, the minister of the new king, in order to deprive the junta central of these resources, formed a plan to excite a revolt in Spanish America. The principles of this plan may be known by the instructions given to the chief agent appointed by Joseph Bonaparte at Baltimore, M. Desmolard. The following is a copy of them :

" Instructions given by Joseph Napoleon to the commissary or principal agent appointed by him at Baltimore, M. Desmolard, and to the others who, furnished with his orders, have gone to Spanish America for the purpose of exciting a revolution there :

" The object which these agents are to aim at for the present is only to declare to the Creoles of Spanish America, and to

persuade them, that his imperial and royal majesty has solely in view to give liberty to Spanish America, whose inhabitants have been enslaved for so many years; and the only return expected for so great a boon is the friendship of the natives, and commerce with the harbours of both Americas: That, to render Spanish America free and independent of Europe, his said majesty offers all the necessary assistance of troops and warlike stores, he having agreed with the United States of North America to accommodate him therewith. Every commissary or agent in chief, being acquainted with the district to which he is deputed, and also with the character of its inhabitants, will have no difficulty in selecting proper persons, to give them the needful instructions for persuading the people, and pointing out to them the advantage they will derive from throwing off the European yoke. He will make them observe that large sums will remain and circulate in the American provinces, by suspending the profuse remittances which are continually making to Spain; and that their commerce will be increased,

and their ports be open to all foreign nations. He will dwell on the advantage to be derived from the freedom of agriculture, and the cultivation of all those articles at present prohibited by the Spanish government; for instance, that of saffron, hemp, flax, olives, vines, &c.; the benefit that will accrue to them from the establishment of manufactures of every sort; the great satisfaction and advantage of abolishing the monopolies of tobacco, gunpowder, stamps, &c. To obtain these points with some ease, in consequence of the greater part of the people being uncivilized, the agents ought to be solicitous to render themselves acceptable to the governors, intendants, curates, and prelates. They will spare no expense, nor any other means of gaining their goodwill, especially that of the ecclesiasticks, on whom they are to prevail that they should urge and persuade penitents, when they come to confess, that they stand in need of an independent government, that they must not lose so favourable an opportunity as that which now presents itself, and which the emperor Napoleon affords

them, who, they are to make the people believe, is sent by God to chastise the pride and tyranny of monarchs; and that it is a mortal sin, admitting of no pardon, to resist God's will. They will on every occasion call to their minds the opposition they experience from the Europeans, the vile manner in which they are treated by them, and the contempt to which they are exposed. They will also remind the Indians circumstantially of the cruelties of the Spaniards in conquest, and of their infamous treatment of their legitimate sovereigns, in dethroning them, in taking away their lives, or enslaving them. They will describe the acts of injustice which they daily experience when applying for places, which are bestowed by the viceroys and governors on worthless persons, to the exclusion of the meritorious. They will direct the people's attention to the superior talents of the many neglected Creoles, and people of merit, contrasted with the European publick officers and ecclesiasticks, which will make apparent the hardships they suffer, and will enable them to draw a parallel between the

talents and merits of the Creoles and those of the European officers. They will represent to them the difference between the United States and Spanish America, the comforts which those Americans enjoy, and their advancement in commerce, agriculture, and navigation; and the pleasure of living free from the European yoke, and being left solely to their own patriotick and elective government. They will assure them that America, once disengaged from Spain, will become the legislatrix of Europe. All agents, both principal and subordinate, are to specify the names of those who declare themselves friends and votaries of liberty; and the subaltern agents are to transmit the lists to the principals, who will make their reports to my envoy in the United States for my information, and that I may duly reward every individual. My agents will refrain from declaiming against the inquisition or the church, and in their conversations rather insist upon the necessity of that holy tribunal, and on the usefulness of the clergy. Upon the insurrectional standards or banners is to be in-

scribed the motto, "Long live the catholick, apostolick, and Roman religion, and perish the bad government!" They will, besides, make the Indians observe how happy they will be when they become once more masters of their country, and free from the tyrannical tribute which they pay to a foreign monarch; and, lastly, they will tell the people that their said monarch does not so much as exist in his own government, but is in the power of the restorer of liberty, and the universal legislator, Napoleon. In short, these agents must by all possible means endeavour to show the people the utility which will arise to them from the government in question. The revolution having been thus prepared, and all the principal members who are to take a share in it, in every city and province, having been gained over, it will be for the chief as well as the subordinate agents to accelerate the insurrection, in order that the revolt may take place at the different points agreed upon, on the same day and at the same hour; this being a very material point, which will greatly facilitate

the enterprise. The principal agents in every province of their department, and the subalterns in the posts assigned them, will win over the domesticks of governors, intendants, and other persons in power, and by means of them they will poison those of this class whom they consider as hostile to the undertaking; an operation which is to precede the revolution, in order to remove all obstacles. The first thing to be considered will be how to stop the remittances of treasure to the peninsula, which may easily be effected by having good agents at Vera Cruz, where all the vessels arriving from Europe will be received, and their officers and crews immediately confined in the fortresses, until every thing shall have succeeded, and the revolution be in forwardness. The agents are further directed to instruct their subagents to transmit to them frequent accounts of the progress of the revolution; and the chief agents will communicate with my envoy in the United States by the channels which shall be pointed out to them. For this purpose it will be proper to keep prepared land-conveyances to those points

of the coast which may be deemed suitable, and where there are always to be ready vessels for any emergency.

"JOSEPH NAPOLEON.

"To my envoy Desmolard."

The agents sent by Joseph Bonaparte penetrated into different parts of the new continent, and one of them was discovered and shot in the town of Habana. A copy of the above instructions was found in Caraccas, in the office of the secretary to the junta suprema, and sent by the junta to the admiral of the Barbadoes station, as a caution against Napoleon's intrigues.

The bad reception the French agents met with convinced the English government that there neither was a party for Joseph Bonaparte, nor even a numerous one for independence in Spanish America. The English were solemnly pledged to assist the heroic efforts of Spain in repelling the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte; and in fighting for the cause of Spain, they were defending their own; this naturally inclined them to exert their influence in favour of the Spanish governors when the troubles in South America began.

Lord Liverpool, on the 29th of June 1810, wrote to General Layard, governor of Curaçoa, in the following terms: "That his Britannick Majesty had strong reasons for hoping that the inhabitants of Caraccas would acknowledge the authority of the regency of Spain."

This letter was communicated to the government of Cadiz, and to that of Caraccas, and published in both places. Colonel Robertson, secretary to General Layard, arrived about that period at Caraccas, apparently with the design of prevailing with the government to realize the hopes of the British minister; but Colonel Robertson, having observed the discontent which generally prevailed against the government of Cadiz, did not venture to make known the object of his journey.

The English government did not renounce its plan of restoring union between Spain and the provinces then in a state of insurrection in Spanish America. In the month of April 1811 the English offered their mediation, which the cortes accepted on the 6th of June; and these were the conditions proposed by them:

"1st, The revolting provinces, *las provincias disidentes*, shall swear allegiance to the cortes and regency, and nominate their deputies to the cortes.

"2dly, Hostilities between the armies shall be suspended, and all prisoners released.

"3dly, That the cortes shall duly attend to the complaints of the Spanish Americans.

"4thly, That the commissioners shall render an account of the progress and effect of the mediation eight months from its commencement.

"5thly, While the mediation continues, the cortes are to allow a free trade between England and the rebelling provinces.

"6thly, The mediation must be concluded in fifteen months.

"7thly, If the commissioners are not successful in prevailing with the Spanish Americans to accede to the terms proposed, the English government engages to assist Spain to subdue them by force.

"8thly, The Spanish government, for the support of its own honour, is openly to declare to the English minister those rea-

sons which have induced the cortes to accept of their mediation."

Notwithstanding the illiberal conditions proposed by the cortes, on the 2d of October the same year the English government appointed commissioners, Messrs. Morier, Stuart, and Admiral Cockburn. But thinking from the basis of the terms proposed by the cortes, that they were not likely to be productive of great consequences, they applied again to the cortes the following year, and proposed the following terms as better suited to attain the end proposed:

"1st, That there should be a cessation of hostilities between Spain and Spanish America.

"2dly, An amnesty shall be granted, and perfect oblivion of all acts, or even opinions that may have been expressed, by the Spanish Americans against the Spaniards or their government.

"3dly, That the cortes shall confirm and enforce all the rights of the Spanish Americans, and that they shall be allowed justly and liberally their representatives in the cortes.

"4thly, That Spanish America should be permitted perfect freedom for commerce, though some degree of preference may be allowed to Spain.

"5thly, That the appointments of viceroys, governors, &c. shall be given indiscriminately to South Americans and Spaniards.

"6thly, That the interior government, and every branch of public administration, shall be intrusted to the cabildo, or municipalities, who shall act in conjunction with the chief of the provinces; and that the members of the cabildo shall be either South Americans or Spaniards possessing property in the respective provinces.

"7thly, That Spanish America shall swear allegiance to Ferdinand the seventh as soon as she is put in possession of her rights, and has sent deputies to the cortes.

"8thly, That Spanish America shall acknowledge the sovereignty possessed by the cortes, as representing Ferdinand the seventh.

"9thly, That Spanish America shall pledge herself to maintain a mutual and friendly intercourse with the peninsula.

" 10thly, That Spanish America shall oblige herself to co-operate with the cortes and the allies of Spain to preserve the peninsula from the power of France.

" 11thly, That Spanish America shall pledge herself to send liberal succour to the peninsula for the continuance of the war."

The debates of the cortes on the proposed mediation lasted many days, and were kept secret; after which they rejected it, with the exception of forty-six votes; viz. those of the Spanish American deputies, and six Europeans. The principal grounds on which the negative was carried were, that the people of Spanish America had not *asked* the mediation of England, and that the English had sinister views in offering it.

This was not the only disappointment the English government suffered from the cortes in the affairs which related to the American settlements. The British minister resident at Cadiz endeavoured to open a trade with Spanish America soon after the assembling of the cortes, but it was abruptly refused. The regency, however, pressed the subject again on the

national legislature; and it was taken into consideration, in sessions that were kept secret, about the middle of April 1811. No sooner was this known in Cadiz than the public papers were filled with invectives against the demands of the cabinet of St. James. Among many other publications on that subject, one is peculiarly remarkable—the manifesto of the consulado or board of trade in Cadiz, under the authority of the president, prior, consuls, deputies, and other members, convened on the 24th of July 1811 for the purpose of discussing the question. This manifesto attempts to prove "that a free trade with "the American provinces would work a "ruin greater than that which Spain then "experienced; that those who were desir-"ous of establishing it were impostors, "and deserving of exemplary punishment, "and of perpetual banishment: That the "fate of Spain, and her political existence, "depended on the solution of this ques-"tion: That the names of those who pro-"posed such a disastrous trade ought to "be transmitted to posterity, that they "might receive from later ages the in-

" dignation they justly merited: That the
" Americans had not required the estab-
" lishment of this free trade; that they
" even detested it as prejudicial to their
" interest: That Spain would be ruined,
" made the tool of foreigners, and that
" her merchants and manufacturers, being
" destroyed, she would herself lose all
" freedom: That, in short, this commerce
" would be subversive of religion, order,
" society, and morality."

Though the deputies from Spanish America, and many of the Europeans, supported the proposal of this free trade as a measure of policy and necessity, the majority of the cortes seemed nevertheless to feel the weight of the reasons alleged by the consulado de Cadiz, and rejected formally, on the 13th of August 1811, the free trade demanded by the English with Spanish America.

While the mediation proposed by the English government, and the demands of the Spanish American deputies, had been unsuccessful with the cortes of Spain, the arms of the revolutionary government had obtained important advantages in the new

continent. They possessed that whole territory which comprised Buenos Ayres, Venezuela, and New Grenada, with the exception of a few fortified places and some provinces; and the Mexican patriots obtained possession of many places in the interior of Mexico under Morelos, Rayon, Victoria, and others. Some plan for revolt had been discovered in the capital of Mexico, and even Lima had been threatened with insurrection.

Such was the political situation of Spanish America when, in consequence of the unexpected destruction of the French army at Moscow, the united powers of the north invaded France by Switzerland, and the English and Spaniards by the Pyrenees. Bonaparte was attacked even by the king of Naples, his brother-in-law—forsaken by two of his marshals—abandoned by the nation, whose wishes he had not latterly consulted, and he lost the empire. In the perplexing situation in which he found himself by this invasion of the allies, he had recourse to two distinguished prisoners then in his power, the king of Spain, and the head of the catholic church.

Thinking to take advantage of their situation, he released them.

Ferdinand was restored to his own country, under auspices most favourable for confirming the good opinion his subjects entertained of his virtues. The sufferings of his youth had excited the sympathy of both Spaniards and Americans; and the treacherous manner in which he had been taken from his kingdom inspired them with such interest for him, that their attachment nearly bordered on adoration. Spain ruined by a desolating war which had lasted six years—Spanish America destroyed by civil contests, carried on with an extreme degree of animosity—what a happy opportunity for Ferdinand to have shown himself the restorer of tranquillity, the mediator between his contending subjects, the angel of peace!

The war in the peninsula seemed crowned with a complete triumph by the restoration of the king; that in Spanish America still continued; but as the absence of Ferdinand had given rise to it, his return ought to have healed dissension. And in fact the intelligence of the fall of Bonaparte,

and of the restoration of the king of Spain, filled their minds with such astonishment, that a sort of stupor pervaded their armies, and their swords would quickly have been sheathed, had they been only encouraged to return to peace.

King Ferdinand, in his decree of the 4th of June 1814, announced to the South Americans his return to his country, and ordered that they should *lay down their arms.* Soon after an army was equipped in Cadiz, and Morillo appointed its commander. Ten thousand men chosen from the best troops in Spain—an armament such as had never before been seen on the coast of Venezuela—appeared before Carupano in the middle of April 1815. Alarm was now spread among those who had been fighting for the cause of independence. All hopes of reconciliation were abandoned, and a revolt in Spanish America against the authority of Ferdinand the seventh, dates from this period.

From Carupano General Morillo proceeded to Margarita, from thence to Caraccas, and in the following August he besieged Carthagena. The dissensions be-

tween Bolivar and Castillo, both commanders of the South American forces, had lessened the means of defence which Carthagena possessed, and even deprived it of supplies of provisions. The inhabitants nevertheless, supported by near two thousand regular troops, prepared themselves for a vigorous resistance. The only attack upon the town, or rather upon the fort of San Felipe, which commands the town, was made the 11th of November, when the assailants were repulsed. Provisions however began to fail, and the vessels which approached the harbour were taken by the Spanish ships of war which blockaded the port. More than three thousand persons died actually of famine. To attempt a longer resistance was vain. The 5th of December 1815, the governor and garrison of Carthagena evacuated the place, and the following morning the king's troops entered.

In possession of Carthagena, general Morillo was enabled to conquer New Grenada, which his army did in the following manner. Calzada, with part of Morillo's forces left at Caraccas, invaded the provinces of Pamplona and Tunja; another

division penetrated through the provinces of Antioquia and Popayan; and the commander in chief went up the river Magdalena, nearly as far as Sanbartolomè. Part of his troops proceeded up the river as far as the town of Honda; but Morillo took the road towards Ocana and Sangil, in the province of Socorro. The royal troops had many skirmishes with the independents, in which the advantage was always on the side of the king's forces. At last the battle of Cachiri was fought, and in it fell the best of the troops and officers who had supported the congress of New Grenada. In consequence of this defeat the congress separated, and the few remaining troops, having abandoned the scene of action, took the road of Los Llanos, commanded by the generals Cerviez and Ricaute.

General Morillo entered Santa Fè de Bogota in the month of June 1816, and remained there till November. More than six hundred persons of those who had composed the congress and the provincial governments, as well as the chiefs of the independent army, were shot, hanged, or

exiled; and the prisons remained full of others who were yet waiting their fate. Among those executed were the botanists Don J. Caldas and Don J. Lozano, who had been ordered by the congress of New Grenada to publish the works of Dr. Mutis; Don J. M. Cabal, a distinguished chymist; Don C. Torres, a man distinguished for his learning; Don J. G. Gutierrez Moreno, and Don M. R. Torices, both well known for having been entirely devoted to the cause of their country; Don Antonio Maria Palacio-faxar, Don J. M. Gutierrez, Don Miguel Pombo, D. F. A. Ulloa, and many other learned and valuable characters. The wives of persons executed or exiled by Morillo were themselves exiled too.

PART SECOND.

THE REVOLUTION IN VENEZUELA AND NEW GRENADA.

CHAPTER FIRST.

REVOLUTION OF VENEZUELA. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JUNTA SUPREMA. — DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. — CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE BY MONTEVERDE, ROYALIST GENERAL. — IT AGAIN FALLS TO THE PATRIOT BOLIVAR FROM NEW GRENADA EIGHTEEN MONTHS AFTER. — BATTLE OF LA PUERTA GIVES THE ROYALISTS POSSESSION OF CARACCAS IN JULY 1814. — BOLIVAR LANDS WITH AN EXPEDITION FROM ST. DOMINGO IN MAY 1816. — SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

THE provinces called Venezuela, of which the city of Caraccas is the capital, are the island of Margarita, Barinas, Guayana, Maracaybo, Cumana, and Caraccas. The last four provinces are situate between the banks of the Oronoco and Cape Vela; but that of Barinas occupies the inland part of Venezuela, bordering on Caraccas, Guayana, and Maracaybo, and likewise on Casanare, and Pamplona, provinces of

New Grenada, from which it is separated by the rivers Arauca and Tachira. In the town of Caraccas alone there were 45,000 inhabitants; the whole population of Venezuela amounted in 1811 to more than 800,000.

The municipality of Caraccas, in conjunction with the deputies nominated by the people, assumed the reins of government on the 19th of April 1810, taking the appellation of *junta suprema, maintaining the rights of Ferdinand the seventh.* Its first decrees contained orders to arrest the captain-general, and the members of the audiencia; which being done, they were sent to the United States of America. They decreed likewise, that the alcabala should be abolished, the tribute paid by the Indians, and the slave-trade; that freedom of commerce, agriculture, &c. should be established; and that these political changes should be published throughout the provinces, and made known to the English government. Intelligence of the different decrees having extended through Venezuela, all excepting Maracaybo, formed juntas in imitation of that at Caraccas. The junta of Guayana acknowledged the suprema

junta of Caraccas, but some days after renounced allegiance to it, and recognised the regency of Cadiz. This change was occasioned by the influence of the Spaniards who were members of the junta, and whose number greatly exceeded that of the South Americans. The juntas of Barinas and Cumana sent their deputies to Caraccas. They did not acknowledge the junta suprema, but insisted on a general congress being assembled. Don Fernando Miyares, being governor of Maracaybo, opposed the innovations at Caraccas, treating the deputies sent to him by the new government in a hostile manner. These deputies were Don A. Moreno, D. Jugo, and N. Texera; they were arrested by Cevallos, the commandant of Coro, and thrown some time after into dungeons at Puerto Rico: after much suffering they were restored to liberty by the intercession of Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane.

The supreme junta of Caraccas informed the regency of Spain of the changes that had taken place at Venezuela; openly declaring the reasons that had induced them to establish a government which

might protect their own rights, and those of the imprisoned monarch; and cordially offering every assistance which Venezuela could command, for the support of the war against the French.

This conduct appeared only to irritate the regency, who viewed in the light of rebellion the innovations at Caraccas; and they declared all the ports attached to the new government in a state of blockade. Don N. Cortavarria was deputed to Puerto Rico, with the title of *comisionado regio*, invested with the absolute authority to reduce Venezuela to its former subjection. This representative of the regency first addressed himself to the inhabitants of Venezuela, exhorting them to dissolve the government, and promising that *then the complaints of the people should be redressed.* In consequence of the answers given in the Caraccas newspapers to the proposals of Cortavarria, he had recourse to other methods: spies and emissaries of every description were sent to all parts of Venezuela, with the intent of effecting a counter revolution.

In the mean time the junta suprema,

foreseeing the consequences which might arise from the opposition shown by the governor of Maracaybo, who had now been nominated captain-general of Venezuela by the regency of Spain, and who was united with the commandant of Coro, one of the departments of the province of Caraccas, sent troops to Carora, under the command of the marquis del Toro, to prevent any attack from the governor of Maracaybo. The departments of Merida, and Truxillo, which formed part of the province of Maracaybo, renounced their allegiance to the capital, demanding the protection of the junta of Barinas, and of the marquis del Toro. Don Diego del Toro, and Don Pedro Brizeno, were appointed commanders of the troops which were sent to protect those departments.

The marquis del Toro, willing to conform to the instructions he had received from the government, raised a corps of three thousand men, and opened a correspondence with Don Fernando Miyares. This correspondence tended to persuade the governor of the necessity of uniting his province in the general cause of Venezuela.

At length General del Toro, weary of this useless correspondence, and having observed how much the forces of Miyares daily gained strength by the addition of the Spaniards who emigrated from the other provinces of Venezuela—the disposition evinced in his favour by the town of Maracaybo, where many attempts at insurrection had been stifled — and, above all, anxious to prevent the arrival of troops from the peninsula—acquainted the junta of Caraccas with the advantage he conceived would arise from attacking the department of Coro: this being subdued, Maracaybo would join in the general cause. The event proved that this attack ought to have been made immediately after the establishment of the junta suprema, as indeed had been the opinion of Don J. Cortes Madariaga, one of the members of the junta, and who had largely contributed to its establishment.

The government of Caraccas agreed with the plan of the marquis del Toro, who accordingly entered the territory of Coro in November 1810. All yielded to him at first, even the suburbs of the capital,

where the enemy made the strongest resistance. An extent of more than forty leagues of wild and sandy country divides the towns of Coro, and Carora from whence the army of Venezuela had marched. General Toro neglected to station his forces so as to preserve intercourse with Carora, and in consequence communication was cut off. Provisions for the army failed, and the ships of war which had sailed from Puerto Cabello, to co-operate with the army by attacking La Vela de Coro, having been prevented by the weather from approaching the harbour, the marquis del Toro was under the necessity of making a retreat, which he effected with great difficulty, and only by force of arms. This expedition therefore failed; but it served at least to prove, for the first time, that Caraccas could furnish an army that was neither deficient in discipline nor courage.

General Miranda reached the shores of Caraccas in the end of 1810, notwithstanding the instructions given by the junta suprema to their deputies, sent to London, to oppose the return of the general to his native country. This opposition had not

been dictated by motives of dislike to Miranda; it was the consequence of that moderate plan of conduct which the junta had adopted towards Spain. General Miranda's repeated attempts to free Terra Firma from subjection to the Spaniards were well known, and his appearance in Caraccas with the wish of the government, would have been in contradiction to the principles laid down by it.

The meeting of the general congress was soon to take place. The election had been made in Venezuela according to the regulations of the supreme junta. These regulations prescribed the method which was to be pursued in ascertaining the population; how the electoral colleges were to be formed; and the number of deputies, which were to be elected according to the population; one for every 20,000 persons. Near fifty deputies were in consequence nominated, who commenced their sessions on the 2d of March 1811.

Previous to this meeting, the junta had named a committee, consisting of Don F. X. Ustariz, Don Fermin Paul, General Miranda, Don J. Roscio, and others, whose

the object of which was to form a constitution. The plan of this constitution was to be in readiness to be submitted to the consideration of the congress. The members of the committee met several times, with the exception of Miranda, and agreed in forming the plan of a provisional confederation; a confederation, according to them, being the best sort of government for Venezuela. General Miranda was of a different opinion; and he in consequence sent to the committee a plan of that constitution which he had intended to present to Spanish America, had he been successful in freeing Terra Firma in 1806. This plan had been formed for a more extensive tract of country than the limits of Venezuela, and it differed very little from the Spanish colonial government.

This circumstance made to Miranda many enemies. From the beginning, his influence in public affairs was feared; but the friends of independence had held his talents and virtues in the highest veneration, though many accused him of ambitious views, and cautioned their party against being governed by his ideas. They could not understand

that Venezuela might obtain independence without overturning every old institution, and resigning every former custom The distrust thus raised soon pervaded Venezuela and New Grenada; and notwithstanding Miranda's respectability, and that of his friends, these last were not able to obtain an election for him as member of the congress, excepting in the insignificant department of Araguita in Barcelona.

In the month of April 1811 the congress nominated three persons, who were to enforce the laws, under the appellation of *Executive power*. Their power, however, was very limited, for, according to the opinion of the congress, the greatest precaution was necessary to prevent the executive power from encroaching on the rights of the people.

There was a considerable party in the congress desirous of a reunion with the mother country; but they dared not declare this desire, so earnest was the people of Caraccas for independence; and that party in the congress which supported the wishes of the people was most numerous. In order to give strength to the partisans of

the patriotic cause, General Miranda proposed that a club should be established, where the citizens might meet, to discuss questions concerning the general welfare, in a private manner. In this Miranda was seconded by a lawyer of great learning, Don Francisco Espejo; and the club was established under the denomination of *sociedad patriotica.*

The anniversary of the revolution was on the 19th April; and the people of Caraccas prepared to evince the high estimation in which they held the blessings they thought they had obtained for themselves and for their posterity on that memorable day. Rejoicings were universal in the city. After service in the churches was performed, the inhabitants all appeared in the streets, suitably and elegantly dressed, wearing in their hats cockades of blue, red, and yellow ribands. Bands of music, followed by dancers, paraded the city, singing patriotic airs; and the members of the *sociedad patriotica* marched in procession through many of the principal streets, bearing ensigns appropriate to this festival. The most respect-

able persons of Caraccas joined in the universal rejoicings; and many parties of Indians from the environs were seen on this occasion playing and dancing, according to their custom, displaying more simplicity than grace. Joy was painted on every countenance, and the mutual congratulations were warmly expressive of happiness. Night came on, and the scene was varied: Caraccas was illuminated from one end of the city to the other: the public buildings and many private houses displayed particular taste in the choice of transparent emblems and inscriptions: bands of music continued filling the air with melodious sounds; and the joy of the inhabitants seemed to increase as the heat of the day declined. Small theatres were erected in different parts of the town, which served the people as resting-places, and where they were amused with songs, farces, &c. The entertainments were prolonged till a very late hour; and when they ended, the minds of all were elated with the most pleasing enthusiasm.

The satisfaction of the people was, how-

ever, transient: a kind of palsy appeared to pervade the government, which wanted energy to promote the prosperity of the country; and the congress was doubtful as to the plan of policy it ought to follow. The Spaniards had already on different occasions endeavoured to overthrow the new government, and this contented itself with merely banishing the dissaffected, or with imprisoning those who appeared most dangerous among them.

A most alarming conspiracy was on the eve of breaking out in the month of June 1811, when confidence in the energy of the government had diminished, and the enthusiasm of the people was declining. The partisans of independence seized this opportunity; the meetings of the *sociedad patriotica* became more frequent; and the leading opinion was, "that a declaration of complete independence was the only measure that could save the country from impending ruin." The people of Caraccas, composed chiefly of mulattoes, listened with interest to the arguments which pointed out to them the means of obtaining political consequence. At last some

members of the congress made a motion for discussing the proposition of declaring Venezuela independent of Spain, and, after many debates, this was carried on the 5th of July 1811.

The conspirators were now disconcerted, but the conspiracy was not destroyed, of which government received secret intelligence, and in consequence the principal persons suspected were arrested. Yet, notwithstanding this precaution, the remainder of the disaffected began to assemble in that part of the city called Los-teques, on the 11th of July, at three o'clock p. m. Their plan was to begin by taking possession of the principal barrack, into which they expected to obtain admission by one of the gates, which a Spanish sergeant in the service of the new government had promised to keep open: they determined, when in possession of that place, which was at the same time a repository for arms and ammunition, to attack the town, in which some hundreds of the conspirators were concealed, and whose operations were to begin when the first firing of cannon at the barracks was heard. Those who possessed

the executive power, as well as some of the members of the congress, were to have been executed on the same day, and the remaining members of the congress sent to Spain.

The accustomed measures on such occasions were taken, to overthrow the attempts of the disaffected; but there were many Spaniards among the troops whose attachment to the new order of things could not be confided in. In this dilemma it was thought expedient to discover to some of the friends of the government all the extent of their peril; and thus were the people of Caraccas awakened to a sense of their danger on the above-mentioned day. As soon as the conspirators were seen uniting in arms at Los-teques, the people opposed them, and after some resistance they were overcome and imprisoned.

On the day preceding this event, the Spaniards residing at Valencia, thirty-eight leagues from Caraccas, in the interior of the country, assembled in considerable numbers, and got into the barracks of the town, which was garrisoned by but few troops. The inhabitants were discontented

with the congress, because it had opposed their desire of separating from Caraccas, and of forming a new province: they in consequence joined the conspirators. Troops were immediately embodied, and armed with guns, which the Spaniards had privately introduced into the town; and Valencia prepared to repel the attacks of the government of Caraccas.

The situation of the government was now perplexing. Many of the conspirators had been taken into custody, but they refused to discover their accomplices, who, being very numerous, they expected would have power to rescue them. To attack immediately the town of Valencia, was the step best calculated to stop the evil; but troops were required in Caraccas for its own protection. The government determined, therefore, to call the citizens to arms; and sent General Toro against Valencia. Ten of the conspirators were in the mean time tried and put to death; and the heads of these unfortunate men were placed on poles at the entrance of the city, according to the sentence of the judges; who thus proved that the effects of the political

changes in Venezuela did not extend their influence to the abolition of those shocking exhibitions of public vengeance.

There are near Valencia two hills which command the road—*El Pico de Mariara* and *El Morro de Valencia.* The royalists fortified both; and General Toro, in his way to Valencia, attacked *El Pico de Mariara.* Notwithstanding the opposition he met with, which was very great, the pass was forced, though with the loss of many more men to the patriots than could have been expected. The government, doubtful of the Marquis del Toro's military skill, appointed General Miranda his successor, who by this appointment regained a part of his lost influence. Miranda forced the pass of the Morro de Valencia, and stormed the town, which, after a slight resistance, yielded; some of the royalists still sheltering themselves in that barrack called *de los pardos.* The independents were several times repulsed in attacking this barrack, and suffered great losses. When the Spaniards knew of the resistance they met with, they began to fire on the troops of Caraccas through the windows, from the

towers of the churches, from the monasteries, and from the tops of the houses. Many officers, among whom was Brigadier del Toro, had been severely wounded; and the troops began to feel dismay. A retreat was then sounded, and Miranda retired to Mariara, four leagues from the town, on the road to Caraccas.

The independents received a reinforcement, and in the following August Valencia was again stormed and conquered. Miranda proposed then to invade the territory of Coro with four thousand men whom he then commanded, and the government willingly agreed to his proposals; but his enemies, whom his last triumphs had irritated, tried every means to oppose his plan, in which they were seconded by the congress.

The congress now turned its attention to that new constitution which was to ensure the liberty of Venezuela. The plan of this constitution had been formed by Don F. X. Ustariz. He, and many others of the greatest respectability, had intimated from the first their opinion, that in case of a final separation from Spain, the best form

of government to be established in Venezuela was a federal one, of which the United States of America gave an example. In order to disseminate this opinion, essays were inserted in the Caraccas Gazette for many successive months, solely to prove the advantages resulting from this constitution of the North Americans. These essays were written by one Burke, an Irishman, well acquainted with the principles of the English and American constitutions. Don F. X. Ustariz and Don J. Roscio carried on a correspondence with many individuals of Santa Fè de Bogota, and of the interior of Venezuela, on the same subject, which seemed to interest every one. Enthusiasm in favour of a federal constitution extended even to New Grenada; and the hopes of attaining a degree of prosperity equal to that enjoyed by the North Americans under the fostering care of their government silenced every argument in favour of any other constitution, though one might have been formed better adapted to the customs and characters of the South Americans.

After many months of continued de-

bates, the representatives of Venezuela offered for the approbation of the people, on the 23d of December 1811, the promised constitution. It formed a volume, divided into nine chapters. In the first the Roman catholic religion is proposed as that of the state. In the second it is proposed that the general congress should be divided into two houses—that of the representatives and the senate; to be jointly invested with the power of declaring war, making peace, raising armies, &c.; the election of the representatives to be made by electoral colleges, and that of the senate by the provincial legislatures. The third chapter treats of the executive power, which was to be confided to three persons to be chosen by the electoral colleges; and these persons were to be invested with power to nominate generals for the army, and to appoint officers to whom the administration and collection of the public revenue were to be intrusted. &c. The fourth chapter describes a supreme court of justice, which was to decide on civil and criminal questions in matters concerning the federal compacts; like-

wise the establishment of trial by jury, &c. The fifth determines the limits of the provincial authorities, the mutual guaranty of the provinces to each other; and that Guayana and Maracaybo should be admitted into the federation as soon as they were free from Spain. The sixth and seventh propose that the constitution should be revised, and receive the sanction of the people. The eighth declares the sovereignty of the people, the rights of man in society; that foreigners of any nation whatever should be admitted into Venezuela, provided they would respect the national religion; that the use of torture should be abolished, &c. The ninth and last is devoted to general subjects; treats of promoting the civilization of the Indians, and of declaring the mulatoes and pardos eligible to any employment whatever in the state; likewise of confirming the abolition of the slave-trade, as decreed by the supreme junta of Caraccas on the 14th of July 1810.

In imitation of the United States of America, the congress set apart a territory

in which the authorities of the confederation were to reside: the town of Valencia was fixed upon, and the congress there held its sessions in the beginning of March 1812.

All prospered in Venezuela at that time; the government was respected; the military force sufficient to support it; and the public mind was unanimous. Commerce was in some degree flourishing, and Venezuela wishing particularly to promote that with England, a reduction of four per cent. was made in the custom-house duties in favour of English manufactures. Three thousand men, under the command of General Moreno, were on the banks of the Orenocco, ready to cross that river and to attack the royalists in the city of Guayana or Angostura, whose inhabitants had on many occasions evinced their inclination in favour of the new government, but were checked by the Spaniards from publicly declaring this inclination. Colonel Xalon, with one battalion of good troops, was stationed at Barquisimeto, supposing the royalists of Coro

might attempt an attack on that side. But, alas! short in Venezuela was the possession of this prosperity!

On the 26th of March 1812, between four and five p. m. Venezuela was visited by one of those tremendous earthquakes which from time to time ruin whole provinces. During a minute and fifteen seconds the earth was convulsed in every direction, and nearly twenty thousand persons fell victims. The towns of Caraccas, La Guayra, Mayquetia, Merida, and Sanfelipe were totally destroyed. Barquisimeto, Valencia, LaVittoria, and others, suffered considerably. This catastrophe happened on Holy Thursday, a day when every Christian church peculiarly commemorates the sufferings of our blessed Redeemer, and at the very hour when the people were crowding into the churches to attend the processions which are usual in Roman catholic countries, and to see the representation of our Saviour led to the cross. Troops are placed on such occasions at the entrance of the churches, to follow the procession; and many churches, and the principal barracks at Caraccas, being

thrown down, there was a considerable number of soldiers killed, and many thousand persons crushed under their ruins. The arms and ammunition destined for the defence of the country were buried in a similar manner; and what was worse, an unconquerable enemy to the independence of Venezuela seemed to raise its head from among the ruins—that religious prejudice which the earthquake inspired.

In an era less remarkable, a mere convulsion of nature would have had no influence on a new government; but, notwithstanding the prosperity Venezuela then enjoyed, the seeds of discontent had fallen on one class of the community. The principles which formed the basis of the new constitution were democratical, and it had been necessary to deprive the clergy of some of their privileges, which of course created enmity in their minds to the present government. Immediately after the earthquake, the priests proclaimed that the Almighty condemned the revolution, and they denounced his wrath on all who favoured it. They construed into a manifestation of the divine displeasure the

occurrence of the earthquake on Holy Thursday, because the revolution had commenced on that festival; although it was not the anniversary, for this feast is moveable, and is celebrated on a different day every year. They made the people fancy that hell was opening to swallow them.

Such was the effect at this time of religious enthusiasm! Unprejudiced persons were undoubtedly not of the number; but these were few compared with the host they had to resist; which, availing itself of the general consternation, biassed the public opinion in favour of the Spanish government.

It happened besides that the royalists of Coro, wishing to divert the operations of the forces destined against Guayana, attacked the republican troops which defended the frontiers, and, having gained considerable advantage, got possession of Carora the day before the earthquake. The troops stationed at Barquisimeto were preparing to march under Xalon to attack the royalists at the hour the earthquake took place; and the barracks being thrown down, the greater part of the soldiers were

buried under the ruins, and their commander severely wounded.

All these sources of public calamity were aggravated by the deficit in the public treasury. The new government had raised an army, increased the number of public appointments, defrayed the expenses of two military expeditions, and established a manufactory of guns, a mint, &c., when at the same time some of the channels on which the revenue of the state depended were cut off by the abolition of the alcabala, &c. The congress had been in consequence obliged to make one million of paper-money, which was now in circulation, and which was regularly received in payment, though with considerable discredit, since the earthquake. From that time confidence in the stability of the government declined, and to continue the paper-money in currency, severe penalties were enacted for refusing it in payment.

The congress was sensible that the danger required the strongest measures, and resorted to those usually practised in critical periods of republics, adding dictatorial to executive power; and it adjourned its sessions, that its members might serve in the

army, or return to their homes in order to give energy in the provinces to a dispirited people. The command of the army was given to General Miranda, who was empowered to act in all things as he judged best for the good of the country; and he marched to meet the enemy at the head of 2,000 men, armed with the few guns that had been rescued from the ruins after the earthquake.

General Monteverde, who commanded the royalists, proceeded from Carora to Barquisimeto, of which he took possession without any opposition; and there his army received considerable reinforcements, for the inhabitants were eager to enrol under his banners. Araure was the next place to be attacked in the way to Caraccas, and in that town there was a detachment stationed under Colonel F. Palacio-sojo; but his troops having refused to fight, the colonel was taken prisoner, and the place became an easy conquest.

Near Araure begin those immense plains which form part of the province of Caraccas and that of Barinas, from whence the towns situate on the mountainous part

of Venezuela receive supplies of cattle. Monteverde, conscious of the importance of possessing them, sent troops to invade Barinas, and with the principal strength of his army attacked San Carlos, which was defended by M. Carabano. San Carlos made a vigorous defence; but the cavalry of the independents having passed over to the enemy, victory was decided in favour of the royalists.

It is necessary to know the considerable distances which separate the capitals of the provinces of Venezuela from each other, the bad state of the roads, and the scattered population, to form an idea of the difficulties the government had to overcome to raise an army sufficiently numerous to stay the progress of an enemy which was advancing rapidly, led on by religious enthusiasm, and encouraged by the confusion naturally resulting from the present consternation. Could the army which was fighting against Guayana have been opposed to Monteverde, he must have been compelled to retreat; but it was too distant to be employed against him, and had besides participated in the effects of

that concatenation of events which was destined to overthrow the republic of Venezuela.

The provinces of Barinas, Cumana, and Caraccas had sent the troops above mentioned against Guayana. The naval force of the independents, which was to protect the crossing of the Orenocco, suffered some loss in the engagement which took place on the 25th of March; but, notwithstanding this check, part of the troops passed over on the other side, and might have taken possession of Guayana, had not intelligence received of the victories of Monteverde dispirited them, occasioning at the same time desertion in the troops, and irresolution in their leaders.

The republican troops evacuted Valencia, and Miranda concentrated his forces in the pass called La Cabrera, near the lake Tacarigua, or Laguna de Valencia. La Cabrera is a narrow pass through which is continued the high road. After the loss of San Carlos and the evacuation of Valencia, this was unquestionably the best spot to oppose and prevent an enemy from invading Caraccas on the western side: but the inhabitants

of that country declaring for the royalists, they discovered to Monteverde an unknown footpath, which, though with difficulty, enabled his troops to avoid the defile of La Cabrera. Miranda in consequence retreated to La Vittoria, sixteen leagues from Caraccas, between the banks of the river Aragua, and the valley watered by the river Tuy. The royalists followed the rear of the independent army, which they attacked most vigorously at the end of June, but were repulsed with considerable loss.

Miranda's judicious conduct was beginning to restore order at Caraccas, and discipline in the army, when the Spaniards who were prisoners in the castle at Puerto Cabello, by the treachery of the officer on guard, took possession of this fort. Colonel Simon Bolivar, who was the commander of the town, judging it impossible to storm the fort without risking the destruction of the town, should he attempt to make a desperate attack, embarked for La Guayra with his officers. The intelligence of the loss of Puerto Cabello reached the army on the 5th of July, when they were celebrating

the anniversary of the independence of Venezuela, and greatly discouraged the people. The enemy found in Puerto Cabello considerable quantities of ammunition, of which they were in want; and the communication was now opened by sea with Coro and Puerto Rico, from whence the army received supplies, which till then had been brought by land, for more than one hundred and fifty leagues.

General Miranda perceived that desertion to the enemy had begun to take place; the country which furnished Caraccas with cattle was in the hands of the royalists; the republican troops were few compared with those of Monteverde, and besides were badly armed; the earthquakes, which still continued at intervals, kept alive the sentiments of fear they had excited. The Spaniards at Caraccas and La Guayra were so much disposed to revolt, that it had been necessary to put them under arrest. What of the town the catastrophe of the 26th of March had spared the enemy would have destroyed, had Caraccas been taken by storm. Under these

circumstances, Miranda, with the approbation of the executive power, proposed a capitulation; the terms of capitulation were agreed upon between Monteverde and Don J. Sata-y-busy, and others appointed by Miranda; they were signed and ratified; and the following were the articles:

"1st, That the constitution offered by the cortes to the Spanish nation was to be established in Caraccas.

"2dly, That no one was to suffer for former opinions.

"3dly, That all private property was to be held sacred.

"4thly, That emigration was to be permitted to those who wished to quit Venezuela."

Caraccas fell in consequence into the power of the royalists; the republican army was disbanded; and Miranda, with many others, proceeded to La Guayra, intending there to embark for Carthagena. The conduct of some of his countrymen towards Miranda was marked with ingratitude. Don M. Casas, military commandant of La Guayra, ordered him

to be arrested, thinking, by adopting this measure, to get into favour with Monteverde. General Miranda, with nearly a thousand patriots, was thrown into dungeons at La Guayra and at Puerto Cabello. Many were sent to Puerto Rico, and Don J. Cortes Madariaga, J. Roscio, J. Ayala, and J. Castillo, South Americans, Ysnardi, Ruiz, Mires, and Barrosa, Spaniards in the service of the republic, were likewise sent to Cadiz. These patriots were condemned by the cortes to an imprisonment, without any limitation of time, at Ceuta, from whence the South Americans escaped to Gibraltar, in the beginning of 1814. The governor of that place, however, delivered them to the Spaniards; and it was only in the middle of last year that, from the generous remonstrances of the English government to the court of Madrid, they obtained their release. The four Spaniards still drag on a wretched existence at Ceuta.

In consequence of this capitulation, Cumana and Barcelona acknowledged the authority of Monteverde; and as if nothing were to be wanting to his glory, the expe-

dition against Guayana completely failed. Almost at the same period of time the royalists of Maracaybo invaded and took possession of the departments of Merida and Truxillo, after repeatedly defeating, in the valley of Cucuta, the army which, under the command of Don J. A. Paredes, defended those territories. Thus the Spanish government resumed its authority in Venezuela, failing, however, in the most dishonourable manner in every article of the treaty of capitulation, which had alone given to its forces the quiet possession of those territories at the end of August 1812.

Monteverde now possessed the power and the means of restoring peace, for the people anxiously desired rest after nearly two years of constant fatigue, to which they had been little accustomed. But, instead of benevolently availing himself of his power to restore peace, vengeance alone filled his mind. The Spaniards thought, by destroying the inhabitants of Venezuela, the first who had shaken off their yoke, to punish in them the insurrection of the whole southern continent. Every royalist became

a public accuser, and the blackest crime of which a person could have been guilty was to have belonged to the republican party. Every prison was filled with patriots; many other buildings were converted into prisons; and it is said, with some truth, that nearly the whole population was under confinement. These severe measures were tolerated by the regency of Spain, and Don Juan O'Donoju, minister of war, complains in his report, made to the cortes on the 2d of October 1813, on the situation of the Spanish colonies, " of the indulgence that had been shown to the insurgents at Caraccas."

This conduct of the royalists excited again the hatred of the inhabitants; and the courage of the supporters of independence was revived. Cumana was the province where the late unfortunate transactions had been least felt, and, having in consequence most power, was the first that opposed the oppression of Monteverde. Don N. Marino, an active and courageous young man, rallied the discontented, and took the town of Maturin. He was there attacked by the Spaniards, who were repulsed.

Monteverde, commanding in person, made a second attack in the beginning of April 1813, and was completely defeated.

Don Simon Bolivar, one of the most distinguished natives of Caraccas, had obtained from the congress of New Grenada near six hundred men; with these he felt confident of being able to conquer the enemies of his country, and crossing the Andes on that side on which are situate the provinces of Tunja and Pamplona, approached the river Tachira, which is the boundary of New Grenada.

As Bolivar is one of the most exalted characters which have distinguished the revolution, I am willing to introduce him more particularly to the reader's acquaintance. Bolivar went to Spain in the early period of his youth, and obtained permission to travel in France and Italy. When the revolution of Caraccas commenced, he was commissioned, jointly with Don L. Lopez Mendez, by the supreme junta of Caraccas, to solicit the protection of the English for the new government. Bolivar, not approving the plan of policy adopted by the congress of Venezuela, lived

in retirement after his return to Caraccas. The danger, however, that threatened his country after the earthquake, called him from his seclusion, and he was then appointed by Miranda commandant at Puerto Cabello; which place was unfortunately lost while under his command. The capitulation concluded by Miranda was not approved by Bolivar; and a short time after the royalists had entered Caraccas, he obtained by special favour a passport from Monteverde, and embarked for Curaçoa. From this island Bolivar sailed for Carthagena, where he was intrusted with the command of one division of the troops. Having freed the banks of the river Magdalena from the power of the royalists in 1812, he took the road to Ocana. At the same time he sent his second in command, Colonel Rivas, to Tunja, where the congress of New Grenada held its sessions, to ask for reinforcements to enable him to penetrate into Venezuela, which Rivas obtained.

Bolivar's little army took the royalists by surprise at Cucuta, and dispersed them; from thence Colonel Nicolas Briceno, with

some officers, was sent by him to Guadualito. There Briceno raised a squadron of cavalry, and invaded the province of Barinas, while Bolivar possessed the department of Merida, after having defeated the royalists at La Grita. Briceno was at last completely defeated by the Spaniards, and seven of his officers and himself taken prisoners; he was soon after executed by order of Tiscar, the governor of Barinas, and eight of the most respectable persons in that town were shot, accused of having endeavoured to facilitate the enterprise of Briceno. This conduct exasperated Bolivar, who till then had treated with humanity the Spanish prisoners of war. Enraged at seeing men who were fighting for their freedom treated like brute beasts, he resolved to have recourse to retaliation, declaring that in future every prisoner that fell into his power should be given up to the resentment of the patriots. The war from this period was styled *the war of death—la guerra a muerte.*

Bolivar divided his army, which was increasing every day, into two corps, placing one under the command of Colonel Rivas.

Both corps were directed towards the province of Caraccas, passing through the department of Truxillo and the province of Barinas. The royalists were beaten at Niquitao, Betijoque, Carache, Barquisimeto, and Barinas, and lastly in Lostaguanes, where Monteverde had assembled his best troops. Monteverde's cavalry, having passed over to the independents, decided the battle; he then withdrew with the remnant of his forces to Puerto Cabello. Bolivar was rapidly advancing to Caraccas, where the inhabitants awaited him as their deliverer, when Fierro, the governor of the city appointed by Monteverde during his absence, assembled a junta, composed of the audiencia, clergy, and the officers of the garrison; and they agreed in sending commissioners with proposals of a capitulation to Bolivar. The commissioners found the general at La Vittoria, and although he was sure of entering Caraccas, which was badly garrisoned, he accepted the proposed treaty. After the capitulation, he promised that no person should suffer for former attachment to the Spanish government, and that it should be allowed

to any person to emigrate from Venezuela, and to withdraw his property.

But the governor of Caraccas, without waiting for the ratification of the treaty, embarked at La Guayra, carrying off all the treasure, public and private, that he could collect, and leaving at the mercy of the conqueror near fifteen hundred Spaniards, who had not the possibility of emigrating. The articles of the treaty were nevertheless sent to the captain-general Monteverde at Puerto Cabello, who refused to accede to them, " because it was derogatory to the dignity of the Spanish nation to treat with insurgents."

Bolivar made his public entry into the city of Caraccas on the 4th of August 1813, and no language can describe the affecting meeting of Bolivar's troops and the inhabitants of Caraccas : the unexpected rencounter of friends who had long been parted, and suffering in the same cause, can only give an idea of the exultation and rapture of their embraces. The dungeons of La Guayra were thrown open, and those who had survived a year's confinement were restored to their country

and friends; while the people, elated and shouting with joy, blessed their deliverer, at the sight of every individual who rushed from the prisons. Notwithstanding this state of popular ferment, none of the Spaniards were insulted; an universal feeling of gratitude and satisfaction filled the mind of every individual.

The provinces which formed the republic of Venezuela were again in the power of the patriots; the eastern part having obtained its freedom by Marino, and General Bolivar having secured the deliverance of the others. The town and fort of Puerto Cabello alone were in the possession of Monteverde at the end of August 1813. One of Bolivar's first acts was to send a flag of truce to Monteverde, offering to give up all the European Spaniards in exchange for the Creole prisoners at Puerto Cabello, who were not so numerous as the Spaniards. Notwithstanding this disproportion, Monteverde obstinately persisted in refusing to treat with Bolivar.

While his determination, however, on this subject was pending, Monteverde received from Spain about twelve hundred

Spanish troops, and, thinking his forces sufficiently strong to act offensively, attacked the republicans at Agua-caliente, but was completely defeated; nearly all the Spaniards were killed or taken prisoners, and Monteverde himself was severely wounded. The remnant of his troops returned to Puerto Cabello, Salomon having taken the command of them in consequence of Monteverde being wounded.

Bolivar made the same generous offer to Salomon, which he had before done to Monteverde, of an exchange of prisoners. But Salomon, not contented with merely following the example of his predecessor in refusing the exchange, seized even the one charged by Bolivar with the flag of truce, loaded him with fetters, and imprisoned him in the fortress of Puerto Cabello. This unfortunate man was a priest, Don Salvador Garcia, remarkable for the urbanity of his manners, and the purity of his conduct. Istueta, the successor of Salomon, went still further: to prevent the besiegers from firing on his line, he placed the South American prisoners exposed to their batteries, and in

the night they were thrown into pontoons, where nearly fifty at one time died by suffocation. The besiegers, wishing to retaliate, exposed the Spanish prisoners before their line of battle. The Spaniards then conducted four American prisoners in front of the encampment of the patriots, and there publickly shot them. The names of these distinguished patriots were Pellin, Osorio, Pointet, and the generous Manuel Pulido, in the highest degree worthy the respect and esteem of all his countrymen. This necessarily closed all further communication between the contending parties *.

Bolivar continued the siege of Puerto Cabello by sea and land, giving the command of the besiegers to the young d'Eluyar. The greater part of the town soon fell into the possession of the independents, and the fortress remained the only refuge of the Spaniards. The garrison was small, it wanted provisions, and, from the damp soil, the soldiers became dropsical;

* Vide General Bolivar's letter to General Hodgson, governor of Curaçoa, published in Walton's Exposé.

but still they would not listen to terms of capitulation. Perseverance is undoubtedly one of the strong characteristics of the Spanish nation. The Spaniard, though born and nurtured in a mild climate, still possesses an unbending haughtiness of spirit. He is slow in action, but firmness overcomes his indolence; and though he may sometimes yield to persuasion, seldom is he overcome by force. It is of little consequence that the Spaniards are heartily detested in America; that their navy and finances are in a state of ruin; that they only rule over the country they actually occupy; they have sworn again to subdue this extensive continent; and though they may never succeed, with difficulty will the Spanish government acknowledge the independence of the settlements they once possessed. Even long hence, though the Americans may have effectually shaken off their yoke, it appears probable that the Spanish nation will still be sending expeditions with the hope of again bringing them into subjection.

Puerto Cabello, though closely besieged, still held out. The situation of this fortress

is so advantageous, the ammunition was so abundant, and the royalists were so firm in resistance, that the loss of men, to take it by storm, would have been incalculable, which Bolivar would never consent to.

The royalists of Coro having been reinforced with some troops from Puerto Rico, sallied out of the town under the command of Ceballos, and, penetrating into the territory of Caraccas, engaged and defeated a body of republicans at Barquisimeto on the 10th of November. Bolivar came into the field with confidence, and routed the royalists in Vigirima, Barbula, and Araure on the 5th of December. The battle of Barbula cost the patriots dear, for there they lost the young Girardot, whose valour had already distinguished him in the fields of Palace, of Cucuta, of Taguanes in Venezuela, and of Bogota in New Grenada. General Bolivar, then named *El Libertador de Venezuela*, ordered an annual mourning in consideration of this sad loss; and a pension was assigned to the family of Girardot for ever. One battalion of the independent troops, which had behaved with a degree of cowardice

in the engagement at Barquisimeto, was deprived of their muskets by Bolivar; but by their valour and good conduct in the battle of Araure, where although armed only with pikes, they took muskets from the enemy they had slain, they restored their tarnished glory.

Bolivar, in invading Venezuela under the protection of the congress of New Grenada, had received orders to reinstate the republican congress, which nevertheless he did not think it advisable to do. The country was, from the period that Caraccas was in the possession of the independents, under a military government; and though Bolivar never improperly availed himself of the power he possessed, this could not always be said of his inferior officers. The very best military government is insupportable. The murmurs against it were general; and Bolivar was decided that the authority he exercised should at least be legal. A general assembly was convened of the magistrates, ecclesiastical dignitaries, municipality, colleges, board of trade, and all the proprietors of the land, on the 2d of January

1814. Bolivar gave a general account of his intentions and operations in the invasion of Venezuela to the assembly, and then resigned the supreme authority he held. The governor of Caraccas, Don C. Hurtado de Mendoza, one of the firmest supporters of the independent cause, addressed the assembly, showing the necessity of leaving the supreme command of Venezuela in the hands of Bolivar until the Spaniards, who were acting against Venezuela, should be completely subdued; intimating, however, that it appertained to the congress of New Grenada to form a constitution for Venezuela. Don J. A. Rodriguez, president of the municipality, spoke on the subject; he was again supported by Don D. Alzuru. The assembly agreed in the proposal of the governor of Caraccas, and the *Libertador de Venezuela* was invested with dictatorial power till the reunion of the provinces of Venezuela to those of New Grenada, under the same representative form of government.

The Spaniards, not being able to subdue Venezuela, formed the plan of de-

stroying it. The royal chiefs at Puerto Cabello, and the Spanish governor of Guayana, resolved to raise the slaves in rebellion against their masters. To accomplish this scheme, many partisans of the Spanish government were sent into the interior of the country. The most obnoxious of these emissaries were Boves, Yanez, Rosette, Puy, and Palomo. The first were Spaniards, the last a negro, who had been long outlawed for being a robber and an assassin. Boves and Rosette received supplies of arms and ammunition from the governor of Guayana, and were enabled to carry their plan into effect in the eastern part of the province of Caraccas. Puy and Palomo received assistance from Coro, Puerto Cabello, and Maracaybo; and the western part of the province of Caraccas, Barinas, Merida, and Truxillo, they fixed upon for their field of action. These supporters of the royal cause regularly corresponded with Spanish chiefs of the above-mentioned places. Some of the correspondence was published in the Caraccas Gazette; and by the papers and despatches that fell into

Bolivar's hands the whole plan was developed.

In giving freedom to the slaves, whose number amounted in Venezuela to seventy thousand; in forming into a corps all vagabonds, which, in a country thinly peopled, and which had been engaged in a war for three years, were numerous; in promising to the dregs of the people the fortunes of the higher class; a body of men was easily raised, alarming both from its number and turbulency. Puy and Palomo subdued by their means Barinas, Guanare, and other towns; and the ferocity of their minds, as well as the spirit of their men, may be estimated by the following anecdote: After the battle of Araure, in which Cevallos was beaten, a division of Bolivar's army marched to Barinas, where Puy had retired, trembling for his own life, and having ordered five hundred and seventy-four persons to be arrested, whom he considered as disaffected. Five hundred of them were shot without any form of trial, when one of Puy's aides-du-camp gave the alarm, asserting that the republicans were approaching the

town. Puy asked anxiously, "Have we not time to execute the seventy-four remaining prisoners?" The aide-du-camp answered *No;* and they were thus saved. Some time after the republicans evacuated Barinas; and Puy entered, spreading desolation around him, and making a general massacre of its inhabitants.

Boves and Rosette marched from the banks of the Orenocco to the vallies of Tuy and Aragua. Death seemed to stalk before them, marking their steps with blood. A reader will now scarcely believe what the newspapers in Venezuela and the adjoining islands, as well as the private letters asserted at that period—that in an extent of country of four hundred miles, which they marched over from the Orenocco to the environs of Caraccas, they did not spare one human being, but slaughtered all who did not join them. Employing these means of terror, they contrived to draw together eight thousand men, only fifty of whom were Europeans or Canarians, a few men of colour, and the remaining number slaves; and they overcame in the most

desperate manner every opposition they encountered in their way. Boves took possession of La Vittoria, and Rosette of Ocumare; the first town fourteen leagues distant from Caraccas, the second at a distance of ten leagues. Yanez and Puy, having conquered Barinas, advanced to join Boves and Rosette in the beginning of February 1814. At this juncture the Spanish prisoners at La Guayra and Caraccas, who amounted to nearly fourteen hundred, entered into a conspiracy against the government. Many Spaniards united themselves into a body, in the road between Caraccas and La Guayra, for the purpose of murdering travellers. Bolivar's troops were few compared with those of his opponents, and were scattered through the country; it required uncommon exertion to save Caraccas from being overpowered by the slaves; if the garrison of Caraccas and La Guayra were called into the field, every thing was to be feared from the prisoners, who had lost all hopes of being exchanged after the determination of the Spanish chiefs of never entering into a treaty with in-

surgents. The massacre of many of the inhabitants of Ocumare, three of whom were murdered in the church, created much indignation in the mind of Bolivar, who, thirsting with revenge, though overpowered with cares, did not know on which side to turn his attention. In one of these agonizing moments, in which his soul was first swayed by fear, then worked up to anger, he gave orders for the execution of the prisoners, and, shocking to relate, eight hundred men were killed on this occasion. When the commandant at Puerto Cabello was told of these executions, all the South American prisoners at that place, amounting to some hundreds, were put to death.

Bolivar again went into the field of battle, and obtained a signal victory over Boves at La Vittoria; and Colonel Rivas defeated Rosette on the banks of the river Tuy; and Yanez was killed at Ospinos. One-third of the republican troops fell in these three engagements, in which the disproportion of the combatants was so considerable.

Los Llanos, from whence the city of

Caraccas was supplied with horses, being possessed by the royalists, Bolivar's cavalry was badly mounted; and after the battles of Tuy and La Vittoria he was only able to pursue the enemy for a very few leagues. Boves and Rosette rallied their troops, and having received some reinforcements, again took the road to Caraccas. General Marino, who had marched from Cumana to the assistance of Bolivar, and had joined a division of troops commanded by General Montilla, repulsed, with their united efforts, the royalists at Bocachica. A few days before a similar advantage had been gained by General Bolivar at San Mateo; and these two victories restored freedom to Valencia, which had been besieged by Cevallos and Calzadas, who commanded two divisions of the royal forces.

The history of the revolution of Spanish America cannot fail to be read with interest, for it must record very many acts of heroic courage, as well as numberless proofs of the universal spirit of patriotism that prevails among the South Americans, notwithstanding their civil dissensions. An officer, whose family

was among the most distinguished at Santa Fè de Bogota, was appointed to guard a powder magazine when San Mateo was attacked, the 25th of March 1814. The royalists thought to take it by surprise while the armies were fighting at some distance, and sent for this purpose a strong detachment of troops to attack the magazine. The young Ricaute having observed the movements of the enemy, saw the impossibility of resistance, and gave orders to his soldiers to join the army, asserting that he was sufficient alone for the defence of the magazine. The Spaniards surrounded it, and took possession of the building, and having discovered Ricaute, were just seizing him, when he set fire to the powder. The magazine was destroyed by an instantaneous explosion, and he fell a victim to that inevitable death he had foreseen.

After these losses Boves retired to Los Llanos, and Cevallos to San Carlos, where General Marino pursued him; but Marino having been repulsed on the 16th of April, he retreated to Valencia. Cagigal, who had been nominated captain-general of

Venezuela instead of Monteverde, brought reinforcements from Coro, and uniting under his orders the troops commanded by Cevallos, Calzadas, and others, advanced to Valencia. The two armies halted at some distance from each other, ascertained their strength on each side, and at length came to action on the plains of Carabobo the 28th of May 1814. They fought with fury; on each side they made the greatest efforts for victory, which being obtained they thought would prove decisive. The advantage was on the side of the patriots, and the royalists were routed and dispersed, leaving in the field a large store of arms and ammunition, and five hundred men dead, wounded, or prisoners.

Bolivar, considering himself secure in the possession of Venezuela, turned his attention to Coro and Los Llanos, where the enemy had fled; hoping, by possessing these territories, to destroy the remaining hopes of the royalists, for it was from thence they drew their resources. Urdaneta marched against Coro at the head of five hundred men; Marino proceeded to San Fernando,

on the river Apure, in Barinas, with another division of nearly the same strength; and the general in chief retained with himself the third part of the army, that he might be enabled effectually to oppose Boves, who had not been at the battle of Carabobo; and who, with a numerous body of cavalry, was advancing against Bolivar. Had the royalists waited for the arrival of this corps, they might probably have gained the last battle; and had not Bolivar divided his army, despising the forces of Boves, Boves's cavalry would unquestionably have been conquered by the patriots' superiority of discipline.

In a few days the three divisions of the republican army were separated many leagues from each other; and Bolivar was attacked by Boves at La Puerta, a plain nearly fifty leagues from Caraccas, near the town of Cura, and after many hours fighting was compelled to abandon the field to Boves. Cagigal and Calzadas, having united some of their dispersed troops, attacked with success Marino's division, which, being cut off from all intercourse with Caraccas, was obliged to retire to Cumana. When

Urdaneta heard of these defeats, he was already too distant to attempt to give any assistance to Caraccas; he therefore withdrew his troops to Cucuta on the frontiers of Santa Fè.

From this time confusion reigned among the patriots, and there was no longer an army for the protection of Caraccas. Bolivar's military government had displeased the people, and the inhabitants of Los Llanos had openly declared for the royalists, being enraged at the conduct of one of Bolivar's generals, Don J. Campo-Elias, who had put to death many of their countrymen taken prisoners in a preceding engagement. The siege of Puerto Cabello was raised, and the troops embarked for Cumana, where Bolivar marched by land with the remnant of his army, and nearly the whole population of Caraccas, which was threatened with destruction. Boves advanced to Caraccas and La Guayra, which surrendered to him in the month of July 1814. The town of Valencia still held out, and the royalists laid siege to it: at length, when longer resistance became impossible, the garrison accepted a capitu-

lation proposed by the besiegers. Being warned against the want of faith of the royalists, they desired that a solemn mass should be celebrated before the two armies, and that, before the host, an oath should be taken by the royalist general, engaging himself to comply religiously with the articles of the treaty. This being done, the town was delivered up to the royalists, and soon after the republican officers, and a great part of the soldiers, were shot. Among them fell the eloquent Espejo, worthy indeed of a better fate!

Boves came up with the patriots' army in the province of Barcelona, engaged and defeated it at Araguita. Success no longer attended Bolivar; his former good fortune had forsaken him; and even the commander of his flotilla, which protected the coast, refused to obey his orders. He considered all present hope of independence for his country lost, and, with a few of his chosen officers, who were willing to partake his ill fortune, he embarked for Carthagena. Rivas and Bermudes, with some few troops, separated from him, and marched to Maturin, which was already

famous by the campaign of General Marino. Maturin became in a very few days the rendezvous of the desperate patriots who did not expect quarter from the royalists. They were there attacked by Morales, and afterwards by Boves, who were both repulsed with great slaughter. Rivas and Bermudes obtained considerable advantages in many other engagements, but the royalists had a superior force, and succeeded at last in conquering them at Urica on the 5th of December 1814. Maturin then fell into the power of the royalists, who had, however, to deplore their favourite Boves. Rivas was taken prisoner and shot, and his head sent to Caraccas, and there publickly exhibited. Bermudes embarked with some troops for the island of La Margarita, where he supported the republican government, until an expedition from Spain, commanded by General Murillo, appeared on the coast of Venezuela. This expedition, consisting of ten thousand men, embarked at Cadiz in near fifty transport ships, which were protected by two frigates. They left near two thousand men in the different cities situate

on the coast of Venezuela; and having added some of the troops already in Caraccas to the remaining part of the expedition, Morillo quitted Puerto Cabello in the month of June 1815 with the intent of besieging Carthagena. One of the frigates, the San Pedro Alcantara, had been previously lost at Margarita.

We have already said that Bolivar embarked for Carthagena after the battle of Araguita. From Carthagena he proceeded to the town of Tunja, where the congress of New Grenada was sitting; and he was commissioned by the congress to compel by force the city of Santa Fè de Bogota to acknowledge its authority. In this he succeeded; after which Bolivar was sent with three thousand men, to reduce to allegiance the province of Santa Marta. In this attack Carthagena was to contribute troops and guns. Bolivar reached the town of Manpox on the river Magdalena, and from thence informed the government of Carthagena of the demands of the congress. The military governor of Carthagena, Don M. Castillo, was Bolivar's personal enemy; and his influence with the president of

Carthagena was employed to prevent the orders of the congress from being fulfilled, under pretence of Bolivar's ambitious views, and his sanguinary career in Venezuela. By these means the attack against Santa Marta was delayed; and Bolivar marched against Carthagena, hoping to be able to compel that government to obey the orders of the congress. A civil war now raged at Carthagena, and the royalists of Santa Marta profited of that moment to take possession of Mompox, and of many other places which the government had left in a defenceless state in order to oppose Bolivar's attempt. In this juncture intelligence of the expedition from Spain reached Carthagena, and Bolivar gave up his plan, quitted the army, and his troops united to those of Carthagena to defend that city.

The royalists entered Carthagena on the 6th December, nearly four months after the siege had begun; but previous to this period Bolivar, who had gone to Jamaica, planned to assist Carthagena by landing an expedition on her shores. With this intent he embarked for Aux Cayes. The capture of Carthagena prevented the

execution of his plan, and he again turned his attention to Venezuela.

The haughty deportment of the Spaniards caused at Caraccas a secession from the army of many of the native troops, who had at first been willing to fight under their banners; and who, joining the soldiers who had dispersed or were disbanded after the battle of Urica, formed different corps of guerillas. After an obstinate war, which had lasted five years, and in which nearly all the population of Venezuela had taken part, whatever differences of opinion had at first existed among them, they now united their strength for the cause of their country. The guerillas, commanded by Monagas, Piar, Roxas, Saraza, Llanos, and others, occupied the inland part of the provinces of Guayana, Cumana, Barcelona, Caraccas, and Barinas, harassing the Spanish detachments which occasionally pursued them, and which they often defeated.

Such was the state of Venezuela when Arismendi again raised the republican standard on the island of La Margarita; and having several times beaten the

Spanish garrison, took possession of a part of that island, at the same time that Carthagena was taken by Murillo.

Stimulated by the hope of more flattering prospects, Bolivar planned an expedition which might assist the efforts of the patriots of Margarita ; and joining himself to Brion, a native of Curaçoa, who had served in the Venezuela flotilla, and had been naturalized as a citizen of Carthagena for his services in that province, assembled the emigrants from Venezuela, and a part of the garrison which had evacuated Carthagena. Brion, being a man of property, as well as others who were attached to the patriots, defrayed the expenses thus incurred. As a reward, Brion was appointed commander of the maritime forces which were to be employed on this occasion. The maritime forces consisted of two ships of war and thirteen transports, most of them armed with guns, having near a thousand troops on board. They sailed from Aux Cayes at the end of March 1816, and in the beginning of May they landed at La Margarita, having first taken two Spanish ships of war after a very bloody engage-

ment, in which Brion was wounded. The Spaniards abandoned nearly the whole of the island, retaining only the fortress of Pampatar.

From Margarita Bolivar sailed for Carupano, about five leagues west of the town of Cumana, of which he dispossessed the royalists; and having armed many of the corps of guerillas who had advanced to join him, they sailed for Ocumare. Scarcely can a notion be formed of the rage of the Spaniards when they heard of Bolivar's success. To show what despair could urge them to, I will relate the following well-authenticated anecdote, copied from Captain Hardy's journal in the ship Mermaid.

"Cumana, 12th June 1816.

"I witnessed the following barbarous act. A female of a most respectable family in Cumana, having spoken against the Spanish government, and in favour of the patriotick party, was placed on an ass, led through the streets, attended by a guard of ten soldiers; at the corner of every street, and opposite the houses of her nearest connexions, she received a cer-

tain number of lashes on her bare back, nearly two hundred, the number she was sentenced to receive. The poor sufferer was blindfolded, and bore the inhuman treatment with as much fortitude as was ever possibly exhibited on a similar occasion. Her cries were feeble, but I could discover, notwithstanding that a handkerchief concealed her face, her tears trickling down.

"I saw but one dozen lashes inflicted. Some of my crew, who were on shore, saw the whole sentence put in execution. My feelings were too much shocked for curiosity even to overcome them. I made particular inquiries respecting the unfortunate girl two days after, and was informed that she refused all food and medical assistance; and in a few days after that, I heard that she was dead, being unable, from her exquisite feelings, to survive the disgrace and pain she had suffered."

Between the ports of La Guayra and Puerto Cabello are those of Choroni and Ocumare on the coast of Caraccas. Near these last ports there are many planta-

tions of cocoa, sugar, indigo, &c. cultivated by the slaves. The plains of Aragua and Valencia are seven leagues distant from these plantations, from which they are separated by a branch of that part of the Andes which crosses Venezuela. Bolivar divided his army, which did not amount to a thousand soldiers, into two parts; and landing the van-guard at Choroni, he proceeded to Ocumare, where he landed the remainder. Sir Gregor M'Gregor, who commanded the vanguard, took Maracay and La Cabrera, and was marching against La Vittoria, when Morales, commanding an army of royalists, arrived just in time to resist the patriots. He had been sent with troops to Venezuela by Morillo, in consequence of intelligence received of Bolivar's expedition. Morales, seeing Bolivar's army separated by a distance of some leagues, attacked the rear-guard, which was commanded by Bolivar in person; and after a severe engagement, in which the patriots lost two hundred men, with their best officers, Bolivar was compelled to re-embark. Sir Gregor M'Gregor, in consequence of Bo-

livar's absence, changed the previous destination of the army, and took the road to Barcelona by the plains.

The following is Bolivar's proclamation, giving liberty to the slaves, when he landed at Ocumare.

"Head Quarters at Ocumare, 6th July 1816.

"Simon Bolivar, supreme chief of the republick, and captain-general of the armies of Venezuela, New Grenada, &c. to the inhabitants of the province of Caraccas.

"An army, with artillery and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, as well as muskets, are now at my command to liberate you. Your tyrants shall be destroyed or expelled, and you shall be restored to your rights, to your country, and to peace.

"*The war of death* carried on against us by our enemies on our side shall cease. We will pardon those who may surrender, even though they be Spaniards. Those who serve the cause of Venezuela shall be considered as friends, and shall be employed according to their merit

and abilities. Any troops appertaining to the enemy, which may come over to us, shall enjoy all the benefits the country can bestow upon its benefactors.

"No Spaniard shall be put to death, unless in battle. No American shall suffer the least injury for having joined the king's party, or for having committed acts of hostility against his fellow-citizens.

"That unhappy portion of our brethren which has groaned under the miseries of slavery is now set free. Nature, justice, and policy demand the emancipation of the slaves: henceforward there shall only be one class of people in Venezuela—all shall be citizens.

"After taking the capital, we will convene the representatives of the people in a general congress, that we may re-establish the government of the republick. While we are on our march to Caraccas, General Marino, at the head of a numerous corps, shall attack Cumana. General Piar, supported by General Roxas and Monagas, will then become master of the plains. Llanos will advance to

Barcelona, while General Arismendi, with his victorious army, shall occupy Margarita.

" SIMON BOLIVAR."

Sir Gregor M'Gregor found himself in a situation of considerable danger after the defeat of Bolivar; but this danger he overcame by the knowledge he had acquired of the country, and the confidence with which he inspired his troops.

Sir Gregor M'Gregor is a Scotchman; he served in the English army in Portugal, and had been promoted to the rank of captain. In consequence of some misunderstanding with a superior officer, he quitted the army, and went to Caraccas in 1811. After the earthquake he served in the cavalry of Venezuela, which in the engagement of Los Guayos suffered considerably under his command. After Miranda's capitulation Sir Gregor went to Carthagena, and from that time he has uniformly supported the independent cause.

The victorious royalists pursued him furiously after the defeat of Bolivar; and such was their dependence on continued

success, that they even sent official information to Caraccas that M'Gregor was totally defeated, killed, and even the soldier was named who had spoiled him of his uniform in the field of battle.

The army was now many hundred miles distant from Barcelona, from whence only it could expect support, and the royalists had dispatched all their troops to effect its destruction; nevertheless the independents were successful in repulsing Morales in the battle of Alacran, and defeated him completely in the action of Juncal. These victories gave them possession of the town of Barcelona early in October, and communication became by this means opened between M'Gregor and the other generals, who were in the provinces of Cumana and Guayana.

The Spaniards evacuated Pampatar on the 2d of November, and the island of Margarita being in consequence completely free, General Arismendi disbanded part of his troops, and sailed to join the patriots in Barcelona. Bolivar, who after the defeat at Ocumare had returned to Aux Cayes, sailed, bringing new reinforcements to

Margarita, where he landed in December 1816. There he published a proclamation convoking the representatives of Venezuela to a general congress, and went afterwards to Barcelona, where he organized a provisional government. In this place he was attacked by the royalists Real and Morales in the months of February and March; but he repulsed them with great loss. On the 11th of last April Piar defeated the royal troops at Guayana, compelling them to shut themselves up in the fortress of Guayana la Vieja, and in the town of Angostura. Paez obtained likewise considerable advantage in the battle fought near San Fernando de Apure with the royalists, who, to the number of two thousand, were coming from Santa Fè, under the command of General Morillo, to reinforce those of Caraccas. The patriots have nevertheless lost the town of Barcelona on the 7th of April this year. The royalist force in Venezuela received an addition of sixteen hundred men from Spain in May last.

CHAPTER SECOND.

REVOLUTION IN NEW GRENADA. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JUNTA IN SANTA FE DE BOGOTA. — CONGRESS OF DEPUTIES FROM THE DIFFERENT PROVINCES, AND THE FEDERAL COMPACTS. — SANTA FE REFUSES TO ENTER INTO THE CONFEDERATION. — CIVIL WAR IN CONSEQUENCE. — PEACE BEING RESTORED, NARINO MARCHES AGAINST THE ROYALISTS. — EVENTS OF THE WAR. — PROCLAMATION OF THE CONGRESS TO THE PROVINCES. — STATE OF NEW GRENADA BEFORE THE EXPEDITION OF MORILLO. — MORILLO'S REPORTS TO THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.

NEW Grenada comprehends the provinces situate between Goatemala, Venezuela, and Peru; they are twenty-two in number—Pamplona, Casanare, Tunja, Socorro, Mariquita, Cundinamarca, Antioquia, Pôpayan, Neyva, Choco, Carthagena, Rio-hacha, Santa Marta, Panama, Veraguas, Quito, Quixos, Maynas, Guayaquil, Cuenca, Loxa, and Jaen. These provinces contain, in an extent of 67,000 square leagues, more than two millions and a half of inhabitants. In Santa Fè de Bogota, which is the capital, there are nearly thirty-five thousand persons.

When intelligence was received at Carthagena from Spain of the dispersion of the junta central, the municipality appointed two persons to act in concert with the governor, whose authority they wished to restrain, in consequence of the critical state of the peninsula. The governor submitted for some time to the check imposed upon his authority, but he afterwards spurned all control; sometimes he would not act conformably to the will of his associates, at other times he did not consult them. This conduct caused his overthrow, which the municipality effected by giving the command of the province to the second in command, Don N. Soria. The troops and people of Carthagena approved and supported this nomination. The provinces of Socorro and Pamplona revolted against their corregidores, whose despotism grew every day more insupportable to them. These united events encouraged the inhabitants of Santa Fè to oppose the established government, for they were glad of any opportunity to renounce their allegiance to the Spanish authorities, and to establish a junta, which

they did, composed of the most respectable persons of Santa Fè. The members of this junta were elected in a public meeting, *cabildo abierto*, assembled under the sanction of Don A. Amar, the viceroy, on the evening of the 20th of July 1810. The junta acknowledged the superiority of the regency of Cadiz, and even chose the viceroy president; but a few days afterwards they were alarmed by the report of an intended conspiracy said to be forming by the viceroy and the audiencia. In consequence of this report, the viceroy, his lady, and almost all the members of the audiencia, were arrested, sent to Carthagena under an escort, and afterwards to Spain. The authority of the regency was now disowned, and the junta by a manifesto invited the provinces of New Grenada to send their deputies to Santa Fè de Bogota, that they might decide in a general congress what form of government should be established during the captivity of the king.

The provinces of Tunja, Pamplona, Casanare, Carthagena, Socorro, Antioquia, Citara or Choco, Neyva, and Mariquita,

declared in favour of the revolution. Santa Marta was also of this number, though acknowledging the authority of the regency. Some months after the Spaniards planned to overthrow the established junta at Santa Marta, and to form another entirely devoted to them, which they did on the 22d of the following December, availing themselves of a popular commotion instigated by themselves.

The governor of Popayan, Don N. Tacon, assembled the principal persons of the province, who agreed in the necessity of forming a popular junta. Tacon, however, differed in opinion, and dissolved the meeting. He then raised an army to attack the new government of Santa Fè, which, conscious of its danger, sent troops under the command of Don A. Baraya to check Tacon in his career. In this Baraya was successful, in the battle which was fought on the banks of the river Palace, three leagues from the town of Popayan, in the beginning of 1811.

The regency, wishing to please the Americans, by conferring on two of their countrymen some mark of honour, sent

Don A. Villavicencio and Don C. Montufar, with the appellation of *Commissionados Regios,* to support their authority in New Grenada. They came, however, too late to be of any use to their employers. Villavicencio, a native of Santa Fè, arrived in that city when the disposition for revolt could no longer be checked; and Montufar arrived in Quito a few days after the massacre of the 2d of August 1810. This event had so much exasperated the inhabitants of Quito, that, having no other arms, they with knives and sticks fought the troops from Lima, which had fired on the people. The result would have proved ruinous to the Spaniards, had not the president, Count Ruiz de Castilla, and the audiencia, decreed an act of oblivion in favour of the inhabitants, and ordered the troops of Lima to withdraw from the city, which they soon after did. Montufar, whose father, the Marquis Selva Alegre, had been among those massacred on the 2d of August, took advantage of the fears of the Spanish authorities to persuade them to form a junta, whose president was to be Ruiz de Castilla. The

regency approved of the junta of Quito, the only such approval that took place, but appointed Molina president.

The junta of Carthagena published on the 19th of September 1810 a manifesto to prove the advantages that would result to New Grenada from the union of her provinces in a federal government. This manifesto dwelt particularly on the perfect freedom of the provinces to adopt any form of government they pleased; for as the abdication at Bayonne dissolved the compact which united Spanish America to the mother country, so the revolution of Santa Fè destroyed the bond of union which had existed between the provinces and their capital. This reasoning misled the inhabitants, and some departments of the provinces were even intending to separate from their provincial capitals, in order to form new provinces. San Gil, a department of the province of Socorro, Giron of Pamplona, Mompox of Carthagena, and other departments, entertained these wild projects; and the town of Mompox proceeded in consequence to form a junta by itself, and to nominate deputies for the con-

gress of New Grenada. The government of Carthagena opposed Mompox, and sent an expedition under the command of Don N. Ayos, who compelled Mompox to renew her former allegiance to Carthagena in January 1811.

The junta of Santa Fè received an embassy from that of Caraccas, and a treaty of alliance was concluded between them. Don J. Cortes Madariaga, who had been the envoy sent by the junta of Caraccas, returned to Venezuela by the river Meta. The navigation of this river was almost unknown at that period. Madariaga was the first who ascertained it.

Some of the deputies nominated by the provinces to compose the general congress had assembled in Santa Fè de Bogota in December 1810. In the congress there were some members who were willing to admit into their assembly the deputies appointed by those departments which were desirous of being formed into separate provinces; while others opposed their taking their seats, alleging the inconvenience that would arise from sanctioning such innovations, which must tend to

kindle a civil war between the departments and their provincial capitals, and at the same time multiply the difficulties they now experienced in forming a government for New Grenada. In this the junta of Santa Fè agreed; and, to give time for a proper understanding on the subject to be brought about, Don A. Narino, secretary to the congress, was successful in persuading its members to suspend their sessions.

Mompox being subdued by the troops from Carthagena, and the provinces openly declaring against the pretensions of the departments, those dissensions were checked which were pervading the provinces, and the congress assembled a second time. The representatives of Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Carthagena, and Antioquia, concluded a federal compact at Santa Fè de Bogota on the 27th of November 1811. According to this compact, which is divided into seventy-eight articles, the provinces were to retain their supreme power in the internal administration, confiding to the congress the management of general affairs. A supreme court of judicature was to be established for deciding on questions

arising from the execution of the federal compacts; and the congress reserved likewise to itself the exercise of the executive and legislative powers. The province of Cundinamarca, not approving the articles of the federation, refused to yield its means of defence, as well as the mint, for the general use, which should have been done according to the stipulations made by the congress.

The junta of Santa Fè, the capital of Cundinamarca, convened an assembly of the deputies of the province, whose population amounts to two hundred and fifty thousand persons. This assembly took the appellation of *colegio electoral constituyente*, and presented to the province a constitution, which was ratified by an assembly specially empowered for that purpose, on the 17th of April 1812. This constitution, the plan of which is divided into twelve chapters, *titulos*, aimed at establishing a limited monarchy, Ferdinand the seventh being the acknowledged sovereign. In the absence of the king, the executive power was to be intrusted to a president, who was to act in concert with two counsellors named by the

electoral colleges; the electoral colleges to assemble every three years, and to be intrusted with the election of the president, senators, members of the high court of justice, and of the court established for the direction of military affairs. The senators and the members of the court of justice were to form the national representation, which the president was empowered to assemble in all emergencies requiring a general consultation. It was requisite that the national representation should assemble to receive embassies from foreign powers, or occasionally to transact important business.

Tacon, the Spanish governor of Popayan, had fled to Los Pastos after his defeat at Palace; and being unable to raise an army sufficiently powerful to oppose the troops from Santa Fè, he gave liberty to the slaves, which are numerous at Los Pastos. This was the very first instance in South America, since the revolution, of the slaves being instigated to revolt against their masters. Tacon, however, in this manner raised an army, but still not formidable enough to enable him to keep his ground in Los Pastos, where he was opposed by

troops from Popayan, and by others sent against him by the junta of Quito. He therefore retreated to the south sea-coast, near the port of San Buenaventura. Don N. Rodriguez, who had succeeded Baraya in the command of the troops, pursued him there, and completely defeated him at Isquande near the end of the year 1811.

Don J. Lozano, the first president of Cundinamarca, had proposed to the provinces of New Grenada to divide their territory into four parts; and, by uniting themselves into a federal government, he maintained that they would be powerful enough to overcome those difficulties naturally arising from the establishment of their independence. The junta of Carthagena opposed this measure; and the junta was seconded by the congress of New Grenada, which was at this time assembled in the town of Ibague; to which town it had removed to prevent any influence in their debates by the people of Santa Fè de Bogota. Lozano, having resigned his situation as president of Cundinamarca, he was succeeded by Don A. Narino, who held in little estimation the proposed

federal government, and wished to form another constitution, which he considered would prove more powerful.

The provinces of Mariquita, Neyva, and Socorro joined Narino in this plan; and that of Tunja was on the eve of doing the same, when a detachment of Narino's troops, under the command of Baraya, then in the town of Tunja, changed sides, asserting the authority of the congress, who immediately transferred its sessions to Tunja. This gave rise to a civil war between the partizans of the congress and Narino's party. This happened in the beginning of the year 1812.

The army of the congress, under the command of Baraya, J. Ayala, and A. Ricaute, conquered Narino's troops at Paloblanco, in the province of Socorro; and the agents of the congress were successful in persuading Mariquita and Neyva to espouse the cause of the confederation. These successes gave spirit to the congress, who now firmly established themselves in the town of Neyva on the 4th of October 1812. Narino's troops were a second time defeated at Ventaquemada,

and the army of the congress proceeded to besiege Santa Fè in December 1812. Previous to these transactions Narino resigned the presidency, but the national represention of Santa Fè de Bogota refused to receive his resignation. Narino proposed to quit New Grenada, if the besiegers would spare the property and lives of the inhabitants of Santa Fè de Bogota; but the besiegers insisted on the besieged surrendering at discretion; and in consequence of Narino's refusal they stormed the city. Being, however, completely repulsed, their army dispersed, with the exception of a division commanded by Girardot, which retreated to Tunja. A monument of stone, containing an inscription explanatory of this signal defeat, was placed in that part of the city of Santa Fè called San Victorino.

The junta of Quito, fearing hostilities from the province of Cuenca, which is situate on the frontiers of New Grenada and the viceroyalship of Peru, raised an army for its own defence. The bishop was at the head of the royalists of Cuenca, and many of the officers of the army were

clergymen who carried black standards, and took the horrible appellation of the army of death, *el exercito de la muerte.* Don N. Molina, who had been appointed president of the junta of Quito by the regency of Spain, entered the territory of Quito at the head of the troops from Lima, which had withdrawn from Quito after the massacre of the 2d of August, and retired to Guayaquil. The junta of Quito, though acknowledging the regency of Spain, would not receive Molina as president if he proceeded with the army, and preferred a complaint to the cortes. The cortes ordered Molina to stop hostilities, which he refused, on the pretext often employed by the Spaniards, that the order of the cortes had been obtained by *obreption* and *subreption;* that is, by false arguments concealing the truth. The army of Quito, commanded by Don C. Montufar, was defeated by the royalists of Cuenca; and Don N. Montes, who had succeeded Molina, entered Quito on the 6th of November 1812, laying waste all before him. The mortality thus occasioned did not content Montes, who sent a strong detachment of soldiers to pursue the bishop,

the nuns, and other persons who had taken their flight, and in the mean time put to death one in every five of the inhabitants who had remained to defend the city. This bloody scene is described by Montes himself in a letter of the 11th of November to the governor of Guayaquil.

After Quito was taken by the royalists, Montes gave the command of the army to Don N. Samano, a Spanish officer, who had served in the battalion of troops called *el auxiliar*, which was stationed at Santa Fè de Bogota when the revolution broke out. Samano, in his way to Santa Fè, took the town of Popayan. The royalists of Pastos had before this taken prisoner Don J. Caycedo, president of the junta of Quito, and Macaulay, a North American, who commanded the troops of Popayan, with many other officers, who, as well as Macaulay and Caycedo, were put to death. The congress of New Grenada, and Narino, though before at variance, were unanimous in their determination of resisting the royalists; and their united troops, to the number of eight thousand men, marched to meet the enemy, commanded by Na-

rino himself, who had been appointed dictator for that purpose. Narino routed the Spaniards in the battle fought in *el alto del Palace*, and Samano retreated to Tumbo, seven leagues south of the city of Popayan; and being there reinforced by a division of the army which had not been engaged in el alto del Palace, advanced to Popayan, encamping his army at Calivio. Narino divided his army into three corps, which were commanded by Cabal, Monsalve, and himself. Thus divided and prepared, they marched against the royalists. The troops on both sides fought desperately; but victory at length declared for the independents, and the Spaniards were forced to retreat. Aymeric was appointed successor to Samano, and took the command of the army, bringing fresh troops from Quito. Narino organized a popular government at Popayan, and marched to Pastos.

The province of Popayan and Pastos being situate in that part of the Andes where the mountains rise as they approach the equator, no part of the country can better maintain a vigorous resistance; and the royalists, conscious of this advanta-

geous position, fortified the principal defiles. The country being besides thinly peopled, and rivers running across it in all directions without any bridges, the difficulties are in consequence innumerable which an army, accompanied with necessary provisions and baggage, must encounter in passing through such a country. The victories hitherto obtained by Narino had not been followed by much advantage, the independents being, from the nature of the country, unable to pursue their vanquished enemy.

Narino, in his way to Pastos, which is nearly eighty leagues distant from Popayan, attacked *el alto de Juanambu*, which he took, but by the sacrifice of many lives. Los Tacines and Aranda likewise fell into his power after many severe engagements, in which several of Narino's officers were killed; and among them the young Salazar, whose valour had gained him universal esteem.

Narino had nearly reached the town of Pastos, and was advancing with one division of his forces, when the enemies spies unfortunately spread in the remainder of

the army the report that Narino had been attacked, defeated, and made prisoner. This caused great consternation in that part of his army; and the enemy, being apprised of it, sent a detachment against Narino, and verified the premature report by making him prisoner. This happened in the month of June 1814, and proved a serious shock to the independent army; so much so, that all Don J. M. Cabal's prudence and valour scarcely enabled him to effect a retreat to Popayan, his troops being closely pursued by Aymeric.

Don A. Narino is one of those few enterprising characters who had long viewed with a prophetick eye, and even in some measure prepared the minds of the inhabitants of Santa Fè for independence. His opinions and wishes, too freely expressed in the early part of his youth, caused his imprisonment in 1794, and that of many of his friends, distinguished young men at Santa Fè de Bogota. Duran, Cabal, Cortes, Umana, Narino, Zea, and others, were at that time sent to Spain under an escort. Narino escaped

the vigilance of his guards, and made his escape in the very act of landing at Cadiz, and presented himself to the government at Madrid. Notwithstanding this act of submission, the Spanish government was going to order his arrest, when Narino again escaped, and went to France; from whence he came to England, at the very epocha when Mr. Pitt's plan for separating Terra Firma from the Spanish government was in contemplation, in 1796. Then Narino returned to New Grenada incognito with the view of carrying it into effect, but he was discovered and confined many years; during which time he suffered the hardships of poverty, close imprisonment, &c. At last he regained his liberty, on condition that he should never quit Santa Fè, and that he should be always accompanied by a soldier. When the war in Spain commenced, the government of Santa Fè, being afraid of his uncommon powers of persuasion, as well as of the credit he possessed, had him arrested, ordering him to be sent to Carthagena; but Narino again escaped at *El Banco* over the river Magdalena, and

went to Santa Marta. A Spaniard who knew the house where he was concealed discovered it to the governor, who had him immediately taken, and then enforced the former orders of the government by sending him to Carthagena, where he was thrown into the dungeons of Fort Bocachica. When the revolution took place, he was released; but his health was greatly impaired, and his legs had suffered much from the fetters he had been compelled to wear during his imprisonment. Having been taken prisoner at Pastos, it is wonderful that he was not executed, as almost all the prisoners were at that time; but he was conducted to Quito, thence to Lima, and he is now confined at La Carraca in Cadiz. One of his sons, Antonio, gave at Bocachica a noble example of filial duty and affection, by suffering himself to be imprisoned with his father, whose misfortunes he wished, by sharing, to alleviate.

Intelligence of the retreat of the army of Popayan, of the victories of Boves against the republicans of Venezuela, of the re-establishment of king Ferdinand

the seventh, and of the fall of Bonaparte, reached nearly at the same time the congress of New Grenada. The dangers that now threatened the independence of that part of South America were viewed in their true light; and the congress issued a proclamation, which, after recapitulating the vicissitudes suffered by the armies of the republick, thus concludes: "Such is the situation of the military affairs of New Grenada. Every step the republicans make costs a bloody battle in the provinces of Venezuela, where hordes of assassins are formed by the agents of the king to check the progress of the friends of liberty. Our frontiers are constantly molested by the royalists of Maracaybo, and those who now possess Barinas; both of whom keep always in alarm the defenders of Pamplona and Casanare. The inhabitants of Santa Marta obstinately refuse to co-operate with us. Carthagena wants assistance from the general government, which is at the same time obliged to provide for the defence of Popayan, which is again threatened with invasion; and this of course increases the difficulties we should

have in rescuing the unfortunate Quito from the power of her oppressors. These are the objects which imperiously call for the attention of the confederate provinces. Useless will be the declaration of our independence, if we have not resolution to support it. We possess within ourselves the means of attaining this great object, and no power whatever will be strong enough to conquer us if we avail ourselves of our own strength; our exertions must unquestionably be great, and our sacrifices for the common cause unbounded. But such efforts are worthy of men raised to the dignity of a free people, and are absolutely necessary, since we have nothing to hope, and much to fear, from the European nations.

"Whether generosity, or the desire of restoring equilibrium among the powers of Europe, has induced Great Britain to make such constant and strong opposition against Bonaparte, and to support the cause of Spain, is yet with us an unsolved problem. Notwithstanding the cessions at Bayonne, and the torrents of blood that the French have shed by the war in the

peninsula, Ferdinand has been restored to Spain; and the country, now freed from the French, will have both the power and the will to send a formidable army again to subdue us.

"We have, alas! frequently felt the effects of Spanish perfidy and cruelty, notwithstanding the constitution by which the Spaniards vainly boasted they had restored to every subject the natural rights of men; — that very constitution which, though sanctioned by oaths, and proclaimed in every part of the Spanish settlements, has not been able to protect the property and lives of the Americans, to shield from insult their wives and daughters, or even the sacred dignity of the priesthood. The decree of the king, dated at Valencia on the 4th of May, put an end to this boasted constitution. What, therefore, have those Americans now to expect, whose hands are stained by the blood of their countrymen? or what, indeed, can be the expectation of the Spaniards, when even the cortes is declared an illegal assembly opposing the sovereignty of the king? And ye, hapless members of the

cortes! always unjust towards the Americans, what are your hopes, since you are pursued as criminals guilty of high treason; since the Spanish nation has returned to its former abject state, the throne surrounded by your enemies, who will wreak their wrath on your heads!

"Since the restoration of the Bourbons to the thrones of France and Spain, what avails it to us that the emperor of Austria may reluctantly bear the fall of his son-in-law, to which his arms so much contributed; that the princes raised by Bonaparte's breath may repent having assisted to subdue the power that fanned them into being? Or can it be important to us, that the English nation may have *some* feelings of compassion for our sufferings; or that the rival nations of Europe may shortly rekindle the flame of war? Our safety requires that we view our situation in its worst light; and that we consider the cabinets of Europe as endeavouring to fix our hapless fate.

"When the Spaniards were shedding without mercy the blood of our most distinguished citizens in the name of Ferdi-

nand the seventh, and when we considered the peninsula unable to free itself from the French, we naturally desired to secure our liberty and independence. Hitherto the nation has opposed our endeavours; the king himself will now send his armies to subdue us. Ferdinand's agents will perhaps speak to us at first of the paternal beneficence of kings, while we shall have to resist hosts of proffered amnesties, rewards, crosses, titles, &c. intended to flatter our prejudices, and to lull to sleep our vigilance. Bishopricks and other ecclesiastical dignities will be offered to our clergy, to engage them to espouse the king's cause; but the sword will quickly be drawn, and misery in every shape will be inflicted upon us. Ye people of New Grenada! contemplate your fate, and that of your posterity; you may easily judge of it; and let your resolution be formed accordingly and nobly. Again, we repeat, your destiny depends on your own exertions.

"While Spain exults in having opposed Bonaparte's tyranny, ought we not to aim at having similar cause for exultation, by opposing the power they wish

unduly to exercise over us? Can time justify usurpation? The cessions of the princes of Mexico, Cusco, and Bogota, in the early period of the Spanish invasion of America, were not less effected by violence than the abdications of Bayonne; nor were the cruelties the Spaniards committed in America less provoking than the atrocities the French army is accused of in the Spanish war. It is neither Ferdinand nor the Bourbons who alone aim at our property and lives; it is the Spanish nation—that very nation which has lately displayed such strong features of cruelty in their conduct towards us. If we have the misfortune of falling again under the same power, every Spaniard will triumphantly insult us in our streets. The blessing of air, which is free to all, even to the brute creation—and, again, those domestick enjoyments which man by right and nature possesses, by inclination clings to, we shall have to implore as boons from our tyrants. The produce even of our industry, will become the property of Spain; and when wearing the fetters of slavery, the sad sound of our chains will disturb the very ashes of our heroes

who have firmly supported and bravely fallen in defence of our liberty and independence. Such is the melancholy, prophetick picture of the fate that awaits us, unless we are conquerors.

"The very name of our country we were not permitted to pronounce before our revolution. To endeavour to possess that country, though our own by every natural right, has already cost us most dear. Yet the helm we should not forsake, for success has often crowned our efforts! The congress has adopted some vigorous measures, and even sent an envoy to implore the protection of the English government—of that government the protector of the liberties of Europe, and which has more than once invited us to shake off the Spanish yoke.

"The congress relies on the exertions of the provinces, and on their indissoluble union.

Tunja, 1st Sept. 1814. } "CAMILO TORRES, President. CRISANTO VALENZUELA, Sec."

Notwithstanding the existing critical circumstances, the president of Cundinamarca, Don Bernardo Alvarez, who had succeeded

Narino, persisted in refusing to enter into the general confederation, although his refusal impeded the excellent measures the congress was taking for the defence of the country. Alvarez was at length persuaded that the voice of the province was in favour of the confederation; and being spurred on by the continual communications on the subject which he received from the general government, he deputed Don J. Lozano to treat with the congress on the union of Santa Fè. A treaty was concluded; and it was agreed that the province of Cundinamarca should enter into the confederation. Alvarez refused to ratify the treaty, but proposed an alliance which the congress would not accept.

In the end of the year 1814 Bolivar arrived at Tunja, where the congress had again fixed its sessions. The provinces of Casanare, Pamplona, Tunja, Neyva, Choco, Popayan, Carthagena, Mariquita, Socorro, and Antioquia, acted in concert with each other under the direction of the general government, which now tried again to compel the president of Cundinamarca to acknowledge its autho-

rity. That division of the army of Venezuela, which, under the command of Urdaneta, had retired to Cucuta in consequence of Bolivar's defeat at La Puerta, was ordered to Tunja; and, being there reinforced, marched under the direction of Bolivar, in December 1814, against Santa Fè. The city was stormed, and the principal suburbs were already in Bolivar's possession, when Alvarez accepted the capitulation he proposed. It was agreed by this capitulation, that Cundinamarca should join the confederate provinces, and that it should enjoy the same rights and privileges they then possessed. The electoral college of Santa Fè then assembled, and having ratified the capitulation, invited the congress there to fix its residence, where soon after the members assembled.

The congress now possessed full authority; and though threatened by the royalists from Venezuela, Quito, and Santa Marta, they considered the safety of the country certain, and their means sufficient to repulse every attack. Some reforms had been made in the administra-

tion, which favoured the unity of action, and enabled the government to have recourse to strong measures in case of necessity. According to these reforms, which were made by three decrees, one dated the 23d of September, and the others the 21st of October 1814, the congress was to be composed of two deputies from each province, excepting those of Casanare, Neyva, and Choco, which, being comparatively less peopled than the other provinces, were only to have one representative; the administration of the departments of finance and war to be exclusively possessed by the federal powers; the executive power to be intrusted to three persons nominated by the congress, Don M. R. Torices, Garcia Rubira, and M. Pey, well known by their republican principles and distinguished talents; the governors of the provinces to be elected by their electoral colleges, but still they were to act as delegates of the general government in all affairs relating to the confederation.

The confederated provinces enjoyed at that time some prospect of future pro-

sperity; and even some of the burdens which oppressed the people had been removed. Among these were the monopolies of tobacco, spirituous liquors, the alcabala, the tribute paid by the Indians, &c. The congress had invited foreigners to fix their residence in the confederate provinces by the decree of the 13th of July 1814, offering them protection, and the means of exerting their industry. A manufactory of fire-arms had been established at Antioquia, one of hats at Santa Fè de Bogota, &c. The press was free; many respectable clergymen had taken part in the general cause; and the opinions of those were disregarded who alleged that Pope Alexander the sixth had possessed the right of making cession of the Indies to the kings of Spain. The botanical expedition, under the direction of the celebrated Mutis, had made important discoveries, and was particularly favoured by the new government. Don Sinforoso Mutis, Riso, Caldas, and Lozano were preparing that work for publication which the premature death of Mutis had deprived of his valuable corrections.

The citizens eagerly contributed both with their persons and property to assist the government. The friars of the order of St. Dominic gave likewise an example of patriotism, by yielding to the government a great part of the silver which they had for years been collecting and heaping up in the sanctuary of Chiquinquirà. The congress, to prevent the machinations of the Spaniards, decreed their expulsion from the confederate provinces till the final establishment of independence, leaving to them at the same time the free disposal of their property.

The congress sent reinforcements to the army at Popayan, which under Cabal was checking the progress of the royalists. Reinforcements were likewise sent under Urdaneta to protect the province of Pamplona, which the royalists of Maracaybo had often attempted to subdue, always retiring to the woods on the banks of the river Sulia when pursued by the independents. Santa Marta was the third territory possessed by the enemy, and to this the principal force of the confederation was directed. To have possessed Santa Marta

would have largely contributed to enable the confederate provinces to resist the expedition then ready to sail from Cadiz under Morillo, should it be directed against New Grenada. Bolivar had been appointed captain-general of the armies of New Grenada and Venezuela, and commanded the troops directed against Santa Marta; and in the preparations he made for this attack, he strained every nerve to obtain the success he ardently desired. But the differences which arose in consequence of the opposition expressed by the government of Carthagena to Bolivars' appointment, and his too strong resent ment of this opposition, which he evinced by laying siege to Carthagena, entirely defeated the excellent plans formed by the congress, and rendered useless the exertions of the provinces.

The royalists effected the conquest of a great part of the provinces of Carthagena, while the independent troops were disgracefully fighting at the gates of the city to settle their private differences; and Morillo arrived just in time to take advantage of the confusion these civil disturbances

created. Bolivar capitulated with the government of Carthagena, and himself quitted the province; but his troops remained to protect the city, though considerably diminished by the war, and by the baneful climate on the banks of the river Magdalena, and in the vicinity of Carthagena.

Availing himself of these circumstances, Morillo besieged Carthagena, and the government of Santa Fè de Bogota had no means of affording succour to the city. Nevertheless great exertions were made to raise a new army to repulse the attacks of the royalists, who from three different parts were invading the independent provinces. The members of the government placed themselves at the head of the army; every individual exerted his power to the utmost; but the hour of triumph for the royalists had arrived, and no resistance could stop their progress. Carthagena was now possessed by the royalists, and the republicans every where defeated. Notwithstanding their arduous fighting in the battle of Cachiri, and the success obtained at Remedios, they were completely conquered; and

Morillo entered Santa Fè de Bogota in June 1816. To show the situation at that time of the royal army in New Grenada and Venezuela, I will insert a faithful translation of General Morillo's letter, dated Mompox, the 7th of March 1816. This letter is addressed to the minister of war in Spain, and was found, with many other papers, on board the schooner La Leona, bound to Cadiz from Havana, when captured by the privateer El Congreso from Buenos Ayres. This intercepted letter was published in *El Independiente* at Buenos Ayres.

" To the minister of war in Spain.

" Sir,—On my arrival at Venezuela I gave your excellency every necessary information respecting the tranquillity and security of this part of his majesty's dominions; from Carthagena I did the same, and of every thing relating to the viceroyalty of New Grenada. I am now compelled to enforce the urgent necessity of reinforcing the army under my command, and of sending fresh troops to Venezuela.

" Disease having lessened my forces, and being obliged to send troops to Peru and

to Puerto Rico, and to station others in those places lately possessed by the rebels, the force of my army is considerably diminished. Indeed I may say my army is a mere skeleton, and unequal to the duty it has to perform, especially in Venezuela.

"When I took the island of Margarita, the rebels from that place emigrated to Carthagena and to Santa Fè de Bogota, where they have disciplined troops to oppose us. Others went to the Antilles, expecting what has happened, that my forces would be lessened, and intending to try to effect another revolution in Cumana, Margarita, and Guayana; and in this project they are supported by the malcontents from France, and some speculators from England.

"When I took Carthagena, the rebels emigrated to Aux Cayes with the intention of uniting themselves there, that they might make an attack on that part of the coast least defended; and if repulsed, they were to content themselves with pillage, and re-embark. With the colonial produce they pillage, they buy muskets; and I am informed that they have now a deposit of

at least twelve thousand in Port-au-Prince, as I said in my former communication.

"By this exposition your excellency will find, that if the rebels lose extent of ground, they at least concentrate their forces, by which means they become stronger than we are in any point they choose to occupy.

"I beg of your excellency to take into consideration that the force stationed at Venezuela, when the people were willing to acknowledge the authority of the king, was double the number now employed to check the rebels; and yet our troops are daily called into the field, though so much lessened in number and strength. The same observations may extend to New Grenada; and, as far as I can observe in my march, I have reason to believe that the province of Carthagena may now be loyal; but the other provinces only wait for the opportunity of putting into execution their rebellious plans. The curates are particularly disaffected; not one appears now attached to the regal government.

"I have already expressed my wish to

your excellency that missionaries should be sent out; I now add the necessity of sending both divines and lawyers from Spain. If the king intends again to subdue these provinces, the same measures must be taken as in the early period of the conquest.

"In my former communication I observed to your excellency, that we wanted troops to keep in subjection this viceroyalty: I now repeat, this assistance cannot be dispensed with, for though we may subdue this country, it is not possible to rely either on the division of troops commanded by Calzada, nor on that of the van-guard on the right bank of the river Magdalena, being composed of Creoles, who would probably desert and fly to Venezuela, thus increasing the strength of the enemy. These divisions are nevertheless composed of brave men, capable of being disciplined; and it would be better to send them to Peru, where they might be of greater service, though at present they will have sufficient employment in Antioquia, Popayan, and Choco, all rebel provinces.

"These proposals are made supposing

that reinforcements will be sent immediately, as, if this be not done, I cannot say what number of troops may later be requisite to maintain our power here. Two points of the greatest importance are at this moment attacked by the rebels of Venezuela—Margarita and Guayana. At Margarita the rebels are well commanded; they are well provided with every thing, and fight desperately. The king's troops have been obliged to act on the defensive; and if Bolivar should arrive with his expedition fitted out at Aux Cayes, I know not what may be the fate of Margarita, nor that of Cumana.

"The attack of the rebels on Margarita is connected with that on Guayana, where they are numerous, possessing a large circuit around Angostura, the capital of the province, and in consequence intercepting the supply of cattle; and probably may compel the garrison of Angostura to surrender without fighting, because in that city there is a party for the insurgents. I considered the province of Guayana of so much importance, that I ventured once to observe to his majesty at Madrid, that

Guayana once lost, Caraccas and Santa Fè de Bogota were in danger. And I beg of your excellency to refer to the maps, and observe the rivers Orenocco, Apure, and Meta, which are much more navigable than I conceived they were before I quitted Madrid. The same observations may extend to many rivers in Los Llanos, which the rebels having full command of, cut us off from all communication with their banks, where is cattle of every description, and from whence the towns situate on the mountains are supplied.

"The rebels in Venezuela have adopted the plan of carrying on the war by their *guerillas*, who are strong and numerous; and in this they imitate the plan pursued in Spain in the last war; and if Bolivar, or any other chief in estimation among them, would take the command of these guerillas, they might act vigorously.

"It is thought in Spain that the spirit for revolt in this country is confined to a few; but it is necessary that your excellency should in this be undeceived. In Venezuela, especially, it is general. I do not think that in this viceroyalty so strong an

inclination for rebellion exists; yet I still must insist on the necessity of an increase of troops, the garrison of Carthagena suffering much from disease; and it is necessary that the military force stationed at New Grenada should be double what it was in the middle of last century.

"If we lose Margarita, the insurgents will fortify it; and they will interrupt, by their pirates, our commerce in the Mexican Gulph. It will then be necessary to send an expedition to reconquer Margarita; and if Guayana be subdued, the difficulties to reconquer it will be still greater. The rebels of Casanare and Tunja will join them; and should the peninsula of Paraguana be attacked, in the department of Coro, there will be little to hope for the king's troops. But these dangers will no longer exist if we receive reinforcements, which in their way might conquer Margarita, and that part of the coast now possessed by the insurgents.

"I do not wish to add to his majesty's anxiety, but only to draw a faithful picture of what is passing in this country, to show the necessity of redoubling our efforts to

secure what, with great anxiety, we have already attained. By the blessing of Providence we have been enabled to support hunger, and deprivations of every kind; yet how can we flatter ourselves that we shall be always thus blessed? As so much is already done towards subduing these countries, it is very desirable that men, guns, and ammunition be immediately sent, that we may make a final blow, and obtain full possession of them. It is necessary to direct our principal efforts against Venezuela. From this country the adjacent provinces are supplied with officers, who are the most enterprising and best instructed men in Terra Firma. It is therefore necessary that the troops stationed in Venezuela should be numerous, because the division at Barinas might be called for in exigencies at Santa Fè. God preserve your excellency.

Head-quarters at Mompox, "PABLO MORILLO."
7th March 1816.

In another letter to the minister of war Morillo says, that he has reinstated the royal audiencia of Caraccas, according to the orders he had received from the king; but observes that this measure will be

ruinous to the interests of Spain; because, as the revolt in Venezuela is far from being quelled, the government of that country ought to be wholly military. Morillo observes also that the municipalities are invested with too much power, and may in consequence do much against the regal interest, their members being South Americans. He advises a retrenchment of the power of the municipalities, such power having been only granted by the laws of Indies, in consideration that the municipalities were then composed of the conquerors and settlers. He concludes:

"Few persons can more strongly feel than I do, that a military government is the most despotick and worst of any known form of government. It is the most tyrannical and destructive; but it is the most energetick, and that which the rebels have adopted. Indeed what other government can suit a country whose inhabitants prove that they bear very reluctantly the rule of a sovereign—a country in which the rebels possess yet some points, and in which all is war, desolation, and horror? When the provinces of Spain were invaded, all exclaimed for a military government. Un-

doubtedly the error was in those who, unacquainted with these countries, and listening to the rebels' emissaries, thought that the king's troops had only to appear, and to act with clemency, to secure the possession of these provinces, whose inhabitants would bless the day in which so much happiness has been granted to them. Margarita, Cumana, and Barcelona have proved the falsity of these opinions.

"At the present time the restrictions laid on the chiefs by the laws of Indies are almost useless, especially in Venezuela. The South Americans will not obey Europeans, and still less, Spaniards. They wish to be governed by their own countrymen; and if they yield to circumstances, and obey the king, it is only in expectation of happier times.

"Every province in America demands a different mode of government. What is good at Santa Fè de Bogota is bad in Venezuela, notwithstanding that they are neighbouring provinces. In Santa Fè there are but few blacks and mulattoes; in Venezuela a considerable part of the white population has perished in the revolution. The inhabitants of Santa Fè are timid; those

of Venezuela bold and sanguinary. In Santa Fè much has been published during the revolution, and the learned have ruled all with their pens; but in Caraccas they displayed earlier the naked sword. From this dissimilarity of character arises the different opposition we have met with; but in their dissimulation and perfidy the people in all the provinces resemble each other. Probably in this viceroyalty the inhabitants would not have opposed so firmly the king's troops, had not many from Venezuela come to support them. It was, spurred on by them, that Carthagena resisted so strenuously. The division of the army that attacked Zaragoza and Remedios has opposed many troops disciplined by these insurgents. The government of Antioquia has already twice proclaimed *la guerra a muerte*, and has skilfully fortified the defiles of the province by engineers from Venezuela. It was by the activity of the same insurgents that Santa Fè was obliged to submit to the congress, and received their sanguinary ideas. All is effected by the rebels from Venezuela. They are like ferocious beasts when they fight in their own country; and if they get able commanders, it will require many

years to subdue them, and even then it will be done at the expense of much blood and considerable sums of money.

"When I arrived in Venezuela, commanding his majesty's army, I was seized with horror when I heard of the number of killed in each engagement, whether gained or lost; and I conceived that this profusion of blood was the effect of the resentment of two parties aiming at each other. I then displayed that clemency so much recommended by the king, which was unbounded. What has been the effect of my clemency? New revolutions and new treachery. And if the people submit when peace is restored in this viceroyalty, it will be only to wait for a better opportunity for revolt. But to subdue this people more troops are required, as I have repeatedly observed to your excellency, and that the captain general of Venezuela be invested with military power; and be assured this is not the work of a day, but must be the result of much perseverance and activity. It is a war ferocious like that of blacks against whites.

"MORILLO."

CHAPTER THIRD.

REVOLUTION OF CARTHAGENA. — ASSEMBLING OF THE JUNTA. — ATTEMPT OF THE REGIMENT EL FIXO TO DISSOLVE THE JUNTA. — THE ASSEMBLING OF THE CONVENTION, AND THE FORMATION OF A CONSTITUTION. — WAR WITH THE ROYALISTS OF SANTA MARTA. — SIEGE AND TAKING OF CARTHAGENA BY MORILLO.

THE province of Carthagena is divided into six departments; Carthagena, Tolu, San Benito, Mompox, and Simiti. The population of the province amounts to two hundred and ten thousand persons, that of the capital to sixteen thousand.

Intelligence having reached Carthagena of the revolution in Santa Fè de Bogota, a junta was formed on the 5th of August 1810. This junta was composed of the members of the municipality, the deputies elected by the people, and of the deputies sent by the other municipalities of the province. Don J. M. Garcia Toledo was the president first appointed by the junta. Don J. M. Del Real, Garcia Toledo, who was elected a second time,

and Don Y. Cavero, successively obtained this appointment. The junta acknowledged the supreme authority of the regency of Spain, but on this condition, that the administration of the interior government of the province should belong to the natives. Regardless, however, of this condition, the regency nominated a Spanish governor for Carthagena, whom the junta did not receive, though they acknowledged willingly the authority of the cortes. This acknowledgment, however, was made, subject to the same restrictions as the acknowledgment of the regency, and that the province of Carthagena should be represented in the cortes according to its population. Neither the first regency nor the cortes acquiesced in the proposals of the junta of Carthagena; and this province was therefore considered disloyal.

The junta made a decree to fix the mode of electing the members; the number was reduced to twelve from the first of January 1811. A court of judicature, and a committee for the financial department, were then formed. The police was in the hands of the municipalities, and the government

of the province appertained solely to the junta.

A Spanish officer took umbrage in consequence of having been imprisoned some days for neglecting to comply with an order of the junta. It happened at the same time that this assembly was debating on the necessity of making some reforms in the regiment *El Fixo*, stationed in the city, to which a new commander was to be appointed. Don B. Gutierrez availed himself of this opportunity, and endeavoured to persuade his brother officers to petition the junta against the removal of their colonel, which they determined on doing; and the petition was on the eve of being presented, when Gutierrez, observing the dissatisfaction of the regiment, determined to obtain his end, by dispersing the junta. The conspirators resolved to have four of the members executed, and to send the others to Spain. Gutierrez accordingly put himself at the head of the troops on the 4th of February 1811, and was proceeding to the house where the junta was assembled. The people of Carthagena, alarmed at the unexpected appearance of the troops, rushed

into the streets to defend the government. The junta then employed a respectable old man, Lieutenant General Narvaez, who was much respected by the troops and people, to inquire the cause of the discontent of the military. Having listened to their grievances, Narvaez appeased them with promises, and they retired to their barracks. The junta then granted a pardon to the troops, and banished the leaders of the faction.

The people of Carthagena accused the members of the junta of having ambitious views, and observed that they acknowledged the sovereignty of the cortes of Spain without obeying their decrees. There were likewise other causes of discontent. The junta had been under the necessity of attacking the town of Mompox: after Mompox was subdued, the junta decreed that many of its inhabitants should be arrested, and banished others, contrary to the wishes and opinion of the province at large. Don Gabriel Pineres, a native of Mompox, contrived to raise a party against the junta by circulating reports unfavourable to the members, and

by showing great liberality at Carthagena. The scheme succeeded; the people of Carthagena assembled, on the 11th of November 1811, in considerable numbers, before the house in which the junta held its sessions, and loudly demanded that independence from Spain should be proclaimed, the inquisition abolished, the prisoners from Mompox released, and that a convention should be assembled to form a constitution for the province. The junta, which was at that time debating on the subject of their independence, and had in consequence sent circular letters asking the advice of the municipalities, did not object to the first demand of the people; the second was a matter of course after the declaration of independence; and the third and fourth were considered just, and likewise granted. The acts declaring their independence were passed, and the manifesto making known the reasons for it soon after published.

In the following January, 1812, the province assembled a convention, which was composed of thirty-four deputies elected according to the population of the province.

The convention published, on the 14th of June 1812, a constitution peculiarly formed for Carthagena; from which I shall make an extract, as it may give an idea of the internal government planned for the different provinces of New Grenada. This constitution, published by the convention, consisted of fifteen chapters, *titulos;* the form of elections is prescribed; the rights of the citizens established; the extent was fixed of the authority of the provincial power; the liberty of the press granted, &c. The importation of slaves was prohibited; and the legislative body was to form a plan to raise a fund for the manumission of the slaves in the province. The legislative body was to consist of the representatives of the province, and, to facilitate their proceedings, was to be divided into two departments, *salas*; the executive power to be intrusted to a president, who was to have two counsellors. The senate was appointed to watch over the exact fulfilment of the laws, and the general convention was to be composed of the president of the state, of the two counsellors, the senate, the legislative body,

and the supreme court of judicature. The general convention was to assemble, if convened by the president, in urgent cases. The office of president was to last three years; and D. M. R. Torices was the first person intrusted with it. The convention put into circulation paper money to the amount of fifteen thousand Spanish dollars, which was increased in the course of two years to near one million. The cause of this paper circulation was, that the finances of the province of Carthagena were not sufficient for the expenses of the new government. Before the revolution, Carthagena received annually from Santa Fè de Bogota supplies of money to defray the expenses of the troops, navy, &c.; but since the revolution, Carthagena not having these supplies, there remained for the new government no method of supplying those expenses, which had increased, except the circulation of paper money. This produced very bad effects; for very little hope was entertained, either in the town or province, of that amelioration in their fate which they had expected from a change in the go-

vernment. They began to grow weary of the revolution, which, among many other evils, had occasioned that of suspension of commerce, the principal source from which Carthagena derived prosperity.

The royalists of the neighbouring province of Santa Marta, seeing this state of Carthagena, hastened to attack the province, and though they were repulsed at Mompox, they succeeded in getting possession of the departments of Tolu and San Benito, under the command of the Spaniard Rebustillos, in October 1812. The alarm at Carthagena increased, Venezuela being at that time in the power of Monteverde, and the general depression occasioned by the earthquake of Caraccas having extended to Santa Fè de Bogota, and the other provinces of New Grenada possessed by the independents. The alarm was heightened when intelligence of the war carried on between the congress of New Grenada and Narino was received at Carthagena, whither the royalists were proceeding in triumph.

The English frigate the Garland arrived at that time at Carthagena, bearing de-

spatches for the governor from the English admiral at Jamaica. The admiral proposed to the government of Carthagena to make an amicable arrangement with Don Benito Perez, the viceroy appointed by the Spanish government for New Grenada, then residing at Panama, warning Carthagena, in case of a refusal, of an attack from the Spanish forces. The admiral offered the Garland to convey the deputies from Carthagena to Panama, if the government acquiesced in his proposals.

The governor, Don M. Rodriguez Torices, in consequence of the impending danger, adopted the following measures: Don J. M. del Real and Don G. Pineres were appointed to treat with the viceroy, and having accepted the offer of the English admiral, they embarked for Chagres, to proceed from thence to Panama. Don A. Gutierrez Moreno sailed for the West India islands, with instructions to engage officers to serve in the army of Carthagena; he carried with him letters of marque, which were to be offered to those who wished to fit out privateers under the colours of the republic of Carthagena, blue, white, and yellow. The

army was disciplined by officers who had emigrated from Caraccas, and divided into two bodies, under the command of a Spaniard, Don M. Cortes Campomanes, and a French officer, Labattu.

The envoys Del Real and Pineres were put into confinement as soon as they reached Panama; and it was only by the mediation of the English admiral that they were permitted to embark after eight weeks imprisonment, the viceroy pretending that they were spies. Gutierrez Moreno succeeded in sending to Carthagena many officers and some privateers, which had injured greatly the commerce of Spain. Cortes Campomanes reconquered the departments of San Benito and Tolu: Labattu dispossessed the royalists of San Antonio, El Penon, Guaymaro, and other fortified points on the banks of the river Magdalena.

The island of Mompox is formed by the river Magdalena dividing into two branches, which fall into the Cauca. The united streams enter the sea by three mouths, Boca Vieja, Boca Principal, and the Cienega de Santa Marta. The Cienega de

Santa Marta is a lake seven leagues long and two broad; not far from its banks is the city of Santa Marta. Labattu embarked his troops in the lake, and having defeated the gun-boats that defended it, landed at the village called La Cienega, and advanced to Santa Marta, which he took on the 6th of January 1813. The royalists could now have been easily dispossessed of the province of Rio-hacha, which, had it been effected, would have firmly established the power of the independents. But Labattu behaved towards the inhabitants of Santa Marta in so impolitic a manner, that they revolted against him, though there was a considerable party for independence. Labattu might have successfully opposed the revolt, the harbour, which was protected by a frigate, many gun-boats, and other ships of war, being wholly in his power; but he thought only of embarking for Carthagena, leaving Santa Marta in the power of the royalists, who now received reinforcements from Portobelo, Havannah, and Maracaybo.

The government of Carthagena equipped another expedition for the purpose of invad-

ing Santa Marta, and gave the command of it to Chatillon, a French officer. This brave officer attacked the royalists at Papares; but he was completely repulsed, taken prisoner, and put to death. A third expedition was fitted out under Labattu, which again failed, and Carthagena then rested satisfied with defending the frontiers, and the navigation of the river Magdalena, which had before that period been much interrupted, and latterly was quite intercepted by the royalists. Nothing of importance occurred from the end of 1813 till the middle of 1815, when the civil war arose between Bolivar and Castillo, which was succeeded by General Morillo besieging Carthagena. Before this time the privateers had protected the commerce of Carthagena, and the sources of prosperity were again opened by means of foreign commerce, and of that carried on with the interior provinces of Santa Fè de Bogota, which enabled the government to recall the paper money.

The city of Carthagena is divided into two parts—the city, properly so called, and Gimani. The city is surrounded by a

thick high wall; Gimani is built in a semicircular form, is fortified in front by a strong wall, and is united to the city by a bridge built over the ditch; both sides of the ditch are fortified by staccadoes, which join the walls of Gimani to the city. On the east of Carthagena is built a fort, called San Felipe Barajas, situate on a hill overlooking Gimani. The batteries on the hill Lapopa command the fort, and protect the environs of Carthagena, being about one hundred and fifty yards distant. On the north side of Lapopa is a lake, near a league in circumference, named Tesca, which communicates with the ditch of Carthagena, and with the sea on the north. The bay of Carthagena is three leagues in extent, and is formed by the coast of Boca Grande, the island of Bocachica, the island of Baru, and the coast of Pasacaballos. By Boca Grande it communicates with the sea, and is defended by a fort, but now abandoned because only small ships can enter; by Bocachica it is defended by the forts San Fernando, El Angel, and Sanjose; it communicates

likewise with the sea by El Cano del Estero, and by the lake Tesca.

Morillo fixed his head-quarters at Turbaco, four leagues east of Carthagena, and formed a line on that side of the city between La Costa de la Boquilla and that of Pasacaballos. On the 11th of November 1815 the royalists attacked Lapopa, which was defended by Colonel Soublet; they likewise made an attack on that part of La Costa Grande which was defended by a detachment stationed there. At Lapopa they were repulsed with considerable loss, but succeeded in dispossessing the independents of La Costa Grande. They now placed batteries at Albornos and Pastelillo; and by means of gun-boats which they had introduced into the bay by El Cano del Estero, they intercepted all communication between the town and the forts which defended Bocachica, thus depriving the besieged of the means of receiving provisions, as they had before done through Boca Grande. The city was twice bombarded.

The government of Carthagena determined, in a general meeting convened on the 13th of October, to put the province

under the protection of the English government, sending despatches to that effect to London, and to the governor of Jamaica. Mr. Hislop, an English merchant, was the bearer of them. Provisions failed in the interim at Carthagena, and the deaths by famine amounted daily, in the beginning of December, to one hundred persons. The government resigned all hopes of getting supplies of provisions, and resolved to evacuate the city. More than two thousand persons left Carthagena on the 5th of December in eleven ships, most of them armed vessels. The attack the royalists made upon them being successfully opposed, they anchored at Bocachica, and having received on board the garrison of Bocachica, they again sailed. The royalists entered the city the next day.

I translate the following description from the official communication of the Captain General Montalvo to the Spanish government: "The horrible appearance of the city is scarcely to be described: the streets, and even the houses, were heaped up with dead bodies, or with those who were expiring; the atmosphere was in a pesti-

lential state, which nearly stopped respiration; groans and lamentations assailed our ears."

In one of the intercepted letters, dated Carthagena, February 28, 1816, Montalvo complains of General Morillo not having delivered to him the command of the city of Carthagena till the 11th of December, and of having omitted until the 5th of January to give him notice of some rebels having been arrested at Carthagena after the capture of the city. Morillo sent to Montalvo a list of the prisoners, intimating that they ought to be tried by the permanent council of the army. Montalvo consulted his assessor Vierna, who gave his opinion that they ought to be tried by a common council of war, which was accordingly assembled, and this council condemned them to death. Vierna then advised the captain-general to suspend the execution of the sentence, which ought to be done according to article 3, titulo 5, trattado 8, de las ordenanzas. Montalvo did not approve this counsel. He then consulted the Oidores, Jurado, and Cabrera, who were of opinion that with respect

to the manner of proceeding in the trial, Vierna had not advised according to the laws. Nevertheless Don M. Castillo, Garcia Toledo, Ayos, M. Granados, M. Amador, M. Portocarrero, M. Anguiano, M. Angulo and S. Stewart, were executed on the 24th of January. Montalvo assigns many reasons for having ordered their execution, adding, that it would have been scandalous if these rebels had been sent to Spain, when Morillo had ordered the execution of others less criminal. He then concludes: "I repeat to your excellency, that I am perhaps the only chief in Spanish America whose conduct has been so humane; these are the first rebels whose execution I have ordered. Unfortunately the war now presents so direful an aspect, that it is not easy to foresee its termination. All might have been prevented in the beginning; perhaps then to have punished the heads of the revolution would have been sufficient, and peace might have been restored by a steady conduct, politick measures, and mildness in the chiefs, which always sooner or later produce good effects.

"I had sufficient reason in 1813 and 1814,

when this viceroyalty and Venezuela were nearly lost, to have treated with severity the cities of Santa Marta and Rio-hacha, whose inhabitants appeared frequently inclined to join in the insurrection; yet without troops, money, or any assistance, I was successful in curbing in their infancy these dispositions for revolt. The royal authorities were looked up to with respect and obeyed, and those most inclined to rebellion became faithful subjects: both provinces are now much attached to the king's government. All this was effected by perseverance, management, and firmness; but not one execution did I ever order.

"Still, to use clemency with those who have commanded the armies which opposed the sovereign's forces, or with those who contributed strongly to overthrow the legitimate authorities, and who have supported enthusiastically the revolution, would be, I conceive, a most impolitick step.

"MONTALVO."

PART THIRD.

REVOLUTION OF BUENOS AYRES AND CHILI.

CHAPTER FIRST.

REVOLUTION OF BUENOS AYRES. — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE JUNTA. — WAR WITH THE ROYALISTS. — DIVISIONS IN THE JUNTA. — SIEGE OF MONTEVIDEO. — TREATY WITH THE PORTUGUEZE. — NEW FORM OF GOVERNMENT ADOPTED. — TAKING OF MONTEVIDEO. — EXPEDITION OF THE BUENOS AYRES CRUISERS TO THE SOUTH SEA. — MEETING OF THE CONGRESS, AND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE. — INVASION BY THE PORTUGUEZE.

THE twenty provinces of Rio de la Plata are bounded by the Brazils, Peru, Chili, and Patagonia. Some of these are situate on the Andes, and are therefore called high provinces. The others in the low country are denominated low provinces. The high provinces are Moxos and Chiquitos, Apolobamba, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, La Paz, Cochabamba, Carangas, Misque, Paria, Charcas, Potosi, and Atacama; the low provinces, Tarija, Salta, Paraguay, Tucuman, Cordova, Cuyo, Entrerios, Montevideo or Banda Oriental, and Bue-

nos Ayres. The population of these provinces amounts to one million three hundred thousand persons. In Buenos Ayres, which is the capital, there are sixty thousand inhabitants.

The junta of Buenos Ayres commenced its sessions on the 25th of May 1810. The junta deputed Don J. J. Passo to communicate to the people of Montevideo the revolution which had taken place in Buenos Ayres. An assembly being convened at Montevideo, the people declared their willingness to support the new government of Buenos Ayres; but the Spaniards, desirous of opposing it, landed the troops which were on board the Spanish vessels; and this gave strength to the royal party in the town.

The junta was likewise opposed by the Spanish chiefs at Paraguay, Cordova, and Chuquisaca. These chiefs, assisted by the last viceroys, Don B. H. de Cisneros, and the members of the audiencia, had planned to overthrow the junta. The ex-viceroy Liniers raised an army of two thousand men, and laid waste the environs of the city of Cordova, to prevent the approach of the troops of the junta. The viceroy and the

members of the audiencia being discovered to have entered into the plot, were exiled, and embarked for the Canary Islands. Colonel Ocampo was appointed commander of the forces from Buenos Ayres, and attacked Liniers, whom he took prisoner. Liniers had previously been deserted by his own troops. Concha, who had been the late governor of Cordova, Liniers, Allende, Moreno, and Rodriguez, who had been the principal opposers of the revolution in that part, were all executed on *El Monte de los Papagallos.*

Mr. Elliott, commander of an English ship of war, declared for the royalists, and even opposed the commerce of Buenos Ayres. The junta having complained of Mr. Elliott's conduct to Lord Strangford, his Britannick majesty's embassador at Rio Janeiro, Mr. Elliott received orders to abstain from any interference between the royalists and the new government.

The junta of Buenos Ayres, conscious of the advantages which would result from the provinces of Chili joining in the revolution, sent to Santiago Don A. A. Jonte,

a person well acquainted with the inhabitants of that capital, with instructions to endeavour to hasten the deposition of the Spanish governors. When the revolution took place, Jonte remained in Santiago as chargé d'affaires from the government of Buenos Ayres, and in that capacity he succeeded in persuading the junta of Chili to give to Buenos Ayres the assistance of 300 troops in one of the critical periods of the last government.

The army under Ocampo received a considerable reinforcement, with orders to march to the high provinces, *El Alto Peru*, where the royalists, commanded by Colonel Cordova, had assembled. Don A. Balcarce, major-general in Ocampo's army, succeeded in defeating them in two different engagements fought at Santiago-Cotagaitya and Tupiza. Cordova, and Nieto who was the president of the audiencia of Chuquisaca, were taken prisoners, and shot. In consequence of these victories, the Alto Peru, as far as the river Desaguadero, which is the boundary of the viceroyalty of Peru and Buenos Ayres, was wholly occupied by

the army from Buenos Ayres. This army was increased to the number of five thousand, and the command given to Brigadier Balcarce. Castelli, a member of the junta, accompanied the army as its representative, and as general governor of the Alto Peru.

The army, thus reinforced, was on the eve of invading that part of Peru which was governed by the Spanish viceroy Abascal; but the invasion was suspended in consequence of Castelli receiving proposals from the municipality of Lima for a suspension of hostilities, that they might propose terms of peace; and the municipality sent at the same time the eleven different proposals which had been presented to the cortes by the representatives of Spanish America; and holding it for certain that these proposals had been acceded to by the cortes, they offered them as the basis of terms for peace. Castelli sent the communications he received to the junta, and in the mean time concluded an armistice with Goyeneche, general of the royalist army.

Considering all danger removed on the

side of Peru, the junta sent eight hundred men under Don M. Belgrano to oppose Velasco, the Spanish governor of Paraguay, who had raised an army to attack Buenos Ayres. The army of Paraguay, commanded by Don N. Yedros, engaged the troops from Buenos Ayres on the banks of the river Tacuari, and defeated them. After this check Belgrano desired to enter into a treaty with Paraguay. A conference was held between Yedros and Belgrano: the result was, that Belgrano was allowed to retreat without molestation. In the following year the inhabitants of La Assumpcion del Paraguay deposed the governor Velasco, and formed a junta independent of the authority of that of Buenos Ayres, but entered into an alliance with it.

The only powerful enemy the junta of Buenos Ayres had now to fear, was Don F. X. Elio, who had been appointed by the regency of Spain captain-general of the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and ruled in that capacity over the province of Montevideo or La Banda Oriental. Don J. Artigas, a native of Montevideo, and captain in the service of the royalists, having some cause of

dissatisfaction with the governor of the Colonia del Sacramento, determined to abandon the royal cause. He accordingly applied to the government of Buenos Ayres in the beginning of 1811, and obtained assistance of arms and ammunition for the purpose of exciting revolt in La Banda Oriental. The junta ordered besides that the troops which had withdrawn from Paraguay should proceed to La Banda Oriental to co-operate with Artigas, who commanded the guerrillas; and the command of the army was given to Rondeau, a South American officer, who had been made prisoner by the English at Montevideo in 1807. He was then brought to England, from whence he went to Spain, and served some time in the war in the peninsula. Artigas and Rondeau succeeded in defeating several times the royalists, and particularly in the battle of Las Piedras, in May 1811, in which the Spanish troops defending La Banda Oriental were made prisoners, with their chief. The patriots then reached the walls of Montevideo, and having received reinforcements from Buenos Ayres, they determined to besiege the town.

In the junta there were two parties: Don C. Saavedra, the president of the junta, was at the head of one, and Doctor Moreno, the secretary, at the head of the other. Moreno accused Saavedra of ambitious views; and he in return reproached Moreno with being a ringleader of the rabble. Saavedra, wishing to counteract Moreno's party, decreed that those who were nominated by the provinces to form a general congress should have seats in the established junta, whose members thus became very numerous. This scheme succeeded; and Moreno, who did not retain his influence, renounced his place. The junta sent him afterwards as a deputy to England, with instructions to ask the protection of the British government; but he died on his passage.

These dissensions in the junta spread to the army, and produced there likewise two parties. The army was encamped at Guaqui and Yaraicoragua, and was divided into three corps, commanded by Colonels Diasvelez and Viamont, and Brigadier Balcarce, who was the commander in chief. Diasvelez and Balcarce had declared for Moreno's party, and Viamont for Saa-

vedra's. Goyeneche, conscious of these dissensions, attacked Dias-velez on the 20th of July 1811, although the armistice still existed. Diasvelez, not being supported by the other divisions, was easily conquered; and the news of his defeat occasioned the dispersion of the remaining troops. Goyeneche took possession of El Alto Peru; and Viamont and Puyredon, president of the audiencia of Chuquisaca, who had been chosen by the troops to command them in preference to their former leaders, withdrew to the province of Salta.

Goyeneche was not successful in quelling the insurrection in the different provinces which the last victory had placed under his command. Cochabamba, Chayanta, and Santa Cruz de la Sierra, were overrun by bands of guerrillas, who greatly molested the royal troops, and prevented Goyeneche from proceeding in his victorious career. Goyeneche, enraged at these difficulties, adopted the plan of shooting all the prisoners, and every partisan of the revolution who fell into his power; but, notwithstanding the general horror which such a mea-

sure produced, he could not overcome the guerrillas, nor penetrate into the low country. Saavedra, being appointed commander in chief, received orders to raise a new army, and accordingly set out with muskets and officers.

Saavedra's enemies took advantage of his absence to get him deposed. They accused him of ambition, arbitrary measures, and, above all, of having biassed the junta to decree, on the 6th of April 1811, the exile of Larrea, Pena, Posadas, and others, who opposed the abuse of his power. They alleged, in support of a change in the form of government, that the junta being too numerous, its decisions were slow, and consequently inadequate to save the country in its present crisis. The municipality then convened a meeting of the inhabitants in September of the same year; and in this meeting it was agreed that a new government should be formed, composed of only three members and two secretaries. Don M. Sarratea, Don F. Chiclana, and Don J. J. Passo were elected members of the government; Don B. Rivadavia, and Don J. Perez secretaries. Some regulations, known by

the name of *El Estatuto*, were also made to point out to the government the manner and order in which their members were to be renewed. According to this regulation, a meeting, composed of the deputies of the municipalities of the provinces, was to be held every six months, one member being to vacate his seat at the expiration of every six months; and these deputies were appointed to elect his successor. The liberty of the press was established, and a junta was to be named every year to protect it. This junta and the municipality were to decide exclusively on any infractions on the liberty of the press.

The siege of Montevideo was carried on successfully by Artigas and Rondeau. The captain-general Elio, finding himself unable for a longer resistance, implored the protection of the Portugueze government in the Brazils. All the influence which the Princess Charlotte, sister to Ferdinand the seventh, had with the minister Souza, was exerted on this occasion; and by her management the Portugueze government decided to give Elio the support of four thousand men. The Princess Charlotte assisted

Elio besides with money, and even sent him some of her jewels. General Souza, brother to the minister, commanded the Portugueze troops; and although they marched to Montevideo, Elio made proposals of peace to the government of Buenos Ayres, and terms were agreed upon in November 1811. According to these terms, the Portugueze were to retire to their own territory, and the troops from Buenos Ayres were to evacuate La Banda Oriental as far as the river Uruguay. The siege of Montevideo was accordingly raised, but the Portugueze did not withdraw their troops; they even committed hostilities in the territory of Rio de la Plata.

The army of Peru suffered at this period another defeat at Rio-Nazareno near Suipacha; and General Tristan, who commanded the van-guard of the royalists, took possession of the province of Salta. The government of Buenos Ayres was now in a dangerous position, not possessing forces sufficient to reinforce the army of Peru, and at the same time oppose the Portugueze. Still Sarratea was sent against them with four thousand men; and Gene-

ral Belgrano, who commanded in Peru, received orders to retire to Tucuman. The Portugueze were alarmed at the approach of the troops from Buenos Ayres; and the death of the minister Souza happening at the same period, peace was proposed by his successor, Count de Las Galveas. Lieutenant-Colonel Redemaker was deputed to the government of Buenos Ayres, with instructions to conclude an armistice, which was signed in June 1812. In consequence of this armistice, which had no specified limitation of time, the Portugueze withdrew from the territory of Buenos Ayres; and amity being restored between both governments, they mutually guaranteed their respective territories.

A short time before the conclusion of the treaty, a conspiracy against the new government had been discovered at Buenos Ayres. The conspirators intended to put to death the members of the government, as well as those who contributed to support the revolution. Don M. Alzaga, a rich merchant at Buenos Ayres, was the leader of the faction. The Portugueze envoy, Redemaker, had been solicited to join in

the conspiracy; but, being aware of the evils that might attend the plan, he intimated to the administration that a scheme was in contemplation, which, if carried into effect, might undermine the new government. The whole extent of the conspiracy was soon after discovered; the principal leaders were arrested, tried, and condemned to death. Alzaga and twenty more, all Spaniards, were executed.

General Belgrano had retired to Tucuman, according to the instructions he had received from the government; but, being closely pursued by Tristan, he would have continued his retrograde movements, had not the inhabitants of Tucuman opposed him. They armed themselves, and obliged him to keep his ground. Tristan then attacked Belgrano's army on the 24th of September 1812; but was compelled to retreat, with the loss of eleven hundred men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The appellation of Campo del Honor has since designated this victorious field.

Two assemblies were held during this period at Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of electing two new members for the go-

vernment. The first met on the 5th of April 1812, and nominated for one member Don J. M. Puyrredon, a very popular character. The assembly proceeded to declare that the sovereignty of the province of Rio de la Plata rested in itself, and accordingly proposed to form a constitution. This was undoubtedly an overstretch of power, and the assembly was dissolved by the government. The second assembly met on the 6th of October 1812; and Don M. Medrano was the member they then elected. This second assembly seemed resolved to pursue the same steps as the preceding one; but the municipality, people, and troops opposed their measures, and the assembly was dissolved by military force. A meeting of the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, *cabildo abierto*, was then convened, on the 8th of October 1812; and the administration was vested in Don N. Pena, Don J. J. Passo, and Don A. A. Jonte.

The treaty which had been concluded between the captain-general Elio and the government of Buenos Ayres was now broken; and the government of Buenos Ayres determined again to besiege Monte-

video. The celebrated Monasterio, who was director of the military school at Madrid in the reign of Charles the fourth, supplied the besiegers with cannon from the foundery he had erected at Buenos Ayres. Elio was succeeded in his command by Don G. Vigodet, who, having received a reinforcement of troops from Spain, had great hopes of overturning the junta of Buenos Ayres. In the middle of December 1812 many divisions of troops had reached Montevideo from Buenos Ayres, under the command of Rondeau. Vigodet gave them battle on the 31st of that month, but was repulsed with considerable loss. New reinforcements came from Buenos Ayres, and the town was regularly besieged under the command of Don M. Sarratea. Some misunderstanding having, however, arisen between Artigas and Sarratea, the officers of the army sided with Artigas, and Sarratea was under the necessity of quitting the army, and Rondeau assumed his command.

The battle which was lost on the 31st of December did not discourage Vigodet. He proposed to take advantage of the

superiority of his naval forces, and embarked a considerable number of troops, ordering them to land on the coasts of Buenos Ayres, which they did at Paranà on the 13th of February 1813. This landing was with the intent of procuring provisions, of which the besieged stood greatly in need. The government of Buenos Ayres, being apprized that these troops had landed, despatched Colonel San Martin with infantry and cavalry to oppose them. San Martin having with his cavalry come up to the enemy, gave them battle without waiting for the infantry, and obtained a complete victory at San Lorenzo on the river Paranà.

The army of Peru had received a reinforcement, and Belgrano had orders to attack the royalists; the battle of Salta was in consequence fought on the 20th of February 1813, in which the Spanish general Tristan and all his army were made prisoners. Tristan and Belgrano had formerly been on terms of intimacy; and from this consideration Tristan was allowed to withdraw to Peru with his army, previously taking an oath that neither he nor those under his command

should ever again take arms against Buenos Ayres. Belgrano's generosity was not approved by the government, but disapprobation was too late. Tristan and his soldiers had already joined the division of troops commanded by Goyeneche, and were again preparing to take the field. The result of the battle of Salta was the retaking the provinces of Potosi, Charcas, Chayanta, and Cochabamba.

The assembly called *Constituyente* met on the 31st of January 1813. The *Constituyente* was composed of deputies nominated by the electoral colleges of the towns and cities of the provinces of Rio de la Plata. The sovereignty of this assembly was personally acknowledged by each inhabitant. The government, which had hitherto been called *gobierno superior*, changed its appellation for that of *supremo poder executivo*. Its members were Pena, Perez, and Jonte. The assembly decreed that every future child of a slave in Buenos Ayres should be free; and enacted that the slaves from the adjacent provinces, and from every part of the world, who might come to Rio de la Plata, should imme-

diately receive their emancipation. To extend as far as possible the spirit of this decree, the government formed a plan for manumitting a considerable number of slaves, without depriving the masters of their property in these slaves, or without obliging the government to pay down at once their full value. The plan did honour to those who had formed it, and was worthy of approbation. It stipulated that every proprietor of slaves should be compelled to sell to the government one of every three slaves; and the price of those manumitted was acknowledged as a debt of the state. It would have been dangerous for the peace of the country, and ruinous to the slaves themselves, to have left them masters of their own fate. It was in consequence agreed that they should be formed into battalions; but the officers, sergeants, and corporals were to be white men. They were to be clothed and fed by the government, and to receive a gratuity of half a Spanish dollar a week.

Some Spaniards at Buenos Ayres, instigated by the royalists of Montevideo, planned a new conspiracy to overthrow the

government. The conspirators were however discovered, arrested, and tried; and four of these unfortunate men were executed.

In the month of August 1813 the assembly nominated Don G. Pozadas in the place of Don A. A. Jonte, whose time for sitting in the government, according to the estatuto, was now elapsed. The assembly soon after appointed commissioners to travel in the provinces, empowering them to make the necessary reforms, especially in the financial department. The commissioners appointed were Don J. Ugarteche and Jonte, who accordingly set out for the interior.

The army of Peru under Brigadier Pezuela the successor of Goyeneche, and that of Buenos Ayres under the command of Belgrano, met at Vilcapugio in the north of Potosi, and there had a desperate engagement. Belgrano retreated to Ayuma in the north of Chuquisaca, and, being closely pursued by the royalists, a second battle was fought at the end of November 1813. The troops from Buenos Ayres were completely defeated, but Pezuela, in his official commu-

nication to the viceroy of Lima, offers a just tribute of praise to their gallant conduct. The royalists became again possessed of El Alto Peru, and even of Tarija and Salta.

These defeats excited great alarm in Buenos Ayres, where troops were in a state of requisition, both to reinforce the army of Peru, and to carry on the siege of Montevideo. The publick mind was wavering as to the issue of the present contest, and the strength of the government was considerably lessened. Under these circumstances the members of the government proposed a change which, by concentrating power, should give additional strength. The government of three, which had greatly retarded publick affairs, was accordingly annulled by the assembly on 31st December 1813, and Don G. Pozadas appointed to the executive power, receiving the appellation of *supremo director*. Seven members were likewise nominated as a council for the supreme director. The three secretaries of state were members of this council.

Colonel San Martin succeeded Bel-

grano, who was ordered to be tried in consequence of the last defeat. San Martin marched to Tucuman with troops and ammunition, and there disciplined a new army, which in a few months amounted to three thousand five hundred men. He likewise formed the guerrillas into different corps; and by their means he succeeded in intercepting the communication between the different divisions of the royalist troops, and in harassing those who foraged; thus depriving the army of provisions, &c. Pezuela was under the necessity of abandoning Salta, Tarija, and part of the Alto Peru. The guerrillas of Cochabamba, which were commanded by the Spaniard Alvarez de Arenales, contributed much to these partial successes.

Don Juan Larrea, secretary of finances, had formed a plan to raise a naval force capable of opposing that of the royalists, in which he succeeded. These forces were composed of two brigs, three corvettes, and one schooner, all armed, and having troops on board; and were put under the command of Brown, an English merchant at Buenos Ayres. Brown sailed with his little flotilla,

and had an engagement with some Spanish ships, near the island of Martingarcia, in the month of April 1814. Nothing decisive followed this engagement; but on the 25th of the following May another engagement took place in face of Montevideo, in which Brown succeeded in taking two corvettes, and in setting fire to two others. The remnant of the royal ships escaped, and from this time Brown commenced the blockade of Montevideo.

Some difference having formerly arisen between Artigas and Rondeau, the former withdrew his troops from the siege. General San Martin's health was impaired, and he demanded leave of absence. Rondeau was then appointed his successor, and the siege of Montevideo was intrusted to Colonel Alvear, who set out with a reinforcement of troops from Buenos Ayres. Alvear secretly corresponded with some officers of the garrison of Montevideo, and by them he was informed that the town could not hold out long, being in want of provisions. Vigodet soon after determined to capitulate. Different envoys were sent to the camp of Alvear, and

the following articles of capitulation were agreed upon: 1st, That the garrison should be allowed to embark for Spain. 2dly, The troops of Buenos Ayres were to take possession of Montevideo, till the result of the deputation was known which the assembly was intending to send to Spain. Alvear then proceeded to take posession of the town, which he did in June 1814. The prisoners amounted to five thousand five hundred; eleven thousand muskets were found in the town, besides an immense park of artillery and military stores. Vigodet was permitted to embark for Spain, but the garrison was distributed through the interior provinces of Rio de la Plata, excepting those soldiers who enlisted in the army. The government consequently did not comply with the whole of the capitulation entered into with the Spaniards; for which they assigned various reasons. One peculiarly deserving of notice was their asserted right of retaliation for Tristan and Goyeneche's breach of faith.

Artigas now demanded that the town of Montevideo should be delivered to him,

as being chief of La Banda Oriental. The government of Buenos Ayres refused to accede to this demand; and to oppose his attempts, some divisions of the army were left in that part of the country. The command of these corps was given to Colonel Soler, the newly-elected governor of Montevideo

Alvear, taking advantage of the influence which the taking of Montevideo had given him, obtained the appointment of general in chief of the army of Peru, and was already marching to join the army with powerful reinforcements. But Rondeau endeavoured to prevent his taking the command, and in this he was seconded by the troops. Alvear received the intelligence of the army of Peru being against him while he was in the province of Cordova, and was obliged to return to Buenos Ayres. He now solicited the appointment of supreme director, and obtained it in January 1815, Posadas having previously resigned. These transactions gave rise to anarchy. The army of Peru refusing to acknowledge Alvear as supreme director, a schism arose

in the provinces, some declaring for Alvear, others for Rondeau. Neither Alvear nor Rondeau, however, committed hostilities against each other; but the communication between Buenos Ayres and many of the provinces was actually closed.

About this period J. Rivera, one of Artigas's generals, defeated the troops of Buenos Ayres commanded by Colonel Dorrego; and Soler was in consequence ordered to withdraw from Montevideo with the remnant of his troops. Artigas then took possession of Montevideo, and being determined to carry on the war in the province of Buenos Ayres, he marched to the town of Santa Fè, which he took. Alvear sent two thousand men, under the command of Brigadier Viana and Colonel Alvarez, to check the progress of Artigas. Alvarez took advantage of this appointment to declare against Alvear, and having arrested the commander in chief, he openly favoured Artigas's plan of overthrowing Alvear. Jonte now arrived from the army in Peru with instructions to insist on Alvear renouncing the supreme authority. Alvear at last acknowledged that he

could no longer rule a people whom his ambition for power had displeased, and withdrew from the city, sending in his resignation. The people collected in crowds, and having been informed of the determination of Alvarez, who was returning to Buenos Ayres, loudly exclaimed against Alvear. This revolt took place on the 15th of April 1815.

A publick meeting of the inhabitants was convened, and there the authority of Alvear, and even that of the assembly, were disowned. The municipality was in consequence intrusted with the supreme command. Alvear retired to the distance of one league from the city, where the troops were assembled, and still remained under his command. It was reported that he intended to attack the city, and accordingly the municipality ordered every citizen to arms, and likewise ordered the arrest of Alvear's wife, and of Larrea, and other members of the assembly. Deputies were now sent to Alvear to persuade him to resign the command of the troops, in which they succeeded. An accommodation accordingly took place, and Alvear

was allowed to embark in an English frigate commanded by the Honourable Captain Percy, who offered his services as mediator and guarantee on this occasion.

The municipality formed a junta which was called *de observacion*. The legislative power was vested in this junta, and a new estatuto, or provincial constitution, published. Rondeau was at the same time nominated by the municipality supreme director of the state; but Rondeau's military command attaching him to the army, Colonel Alvarez was appointed his substitute. The attention of the new government was fixed on the trial which was shortly to take place of the members who had composed the late administration. The newspapers were filled with invectives against them; secret accusations became frequent, and the number of persons arrested amounted to more than twenty. Colonel Paillardel was tried and condemned to death. The sentence passed upon him was enforced, but it highly displeased the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres; and the new government in consequence contented itself with the exile of those who still remained in their power.

Brown, who had obtained the rank of admiral after the capture of Montevideo, now proposed to sail, with the naval forces under his command, for the South Seas, where he would have the opportunity of greatly annoying the Spanish commerce. The government acquiesced in this scheme, and Brown's flotilla sailed accordingly at the end of the year 1815. This naval expedition was at first crowned with much success, but Brown's ship running on the sands near the coast of Guayaquil, it was captured by the Spaniards. Fortunately the new governor of Guayaquil, who was on his way from Panama, had been taken prisoner some days before by Brown's cruisers, and an exchange was proposed and accepted. Brown captured many ships during his station in the South Seas; he sent some of them to Buenos Ayres, and at length sailed in the Hercules for the North Sea, having on board a rich booty. A British ship of war, the Brazen, captured Brown in his voyage to North America, and carried his ship into Antigua, which was condemned under pretence that she had violated the laws of navigation.

When the members of the administration had removed those whom they considered adverse to their views, they turned their attention to Artigas, who still held possession of Santa Fè. An expedition was sent, under the command of Viamont, to dispossess him of the town; he attacked Artigas, but was defeated and made prisoner. Some time after the army of Peru was beaten by the royalists under Pezuela, who had received reinforcements from Spain. This was the battle of Sipe-sipe, fought in November 1815; and in consequence of which Charcas, Potosi, and Tarija fell a third time into the power of the royal forces.

Alvarez convoked a new congress of the representatives of the province, but, before it assembled, a popular commotion dispossessed him of the supreme command, which he then held in consequence of Rondeau's absence. Balcarce was then appointed supreme director, but he was soon after removed, and the administration placed in the hands of a committee. The new congress which had assembled in Tucuman, proceeded immediately to appoint a su-

preme director. The nomination fell on Don J. M. Puyrredon, who is in high estimation in that country; and he assumed the reins of government, to the great joy of the inhabitants, already wearied by repeated revolutions. Puyrredon gave the command of the army of Peru to General Belgrano, and sent reinforcements to the troops which under San Martin were defending the frontiers of Buenos Ayres which border on Chili.

The congress announced the independence of the provinces of Rio de la Plata on the 9th of July 1816. The following is their formal declaration of independence:

"We the representatives of the united provinces of Rio de la Plata, assembled in a general congress, imploring the Supreme Being, who presides over the universe, calling on heaven, earth, and men to witness the justice of our cause, in the name and by the authority of the people we represent, do declare solemnly that it is the unanimous will of the said provinces to break off all ties which united them to the kings of Spain, to be reinstated in all those rights of which they were deprived,

and thus to be raised to the high rank of an independent and free nation, capable henceforth of forming for themselves such a government as justice and circumstances imperiously call for. We are therefore empowered by the united provinces at large, and by each one separately, to declare and engage that they will support this independence. Their lives, property, and fame shall be their guaranty.

"Out of respect for the nations whom our fate may interest, and feeling the necessity of declaring the weighty reasons which impel us thus to act, we decree that a manifesto shall be published.

"Given in the hall of our sessions, signed by our own hand, sealed with the seal of the congress, and witnessed by our secretaries.

"F. N. DE LAPRIDAS, President.
"M. BOEDO, Vice-President.
"J. M. SERRANO, } Secretaries."
"J. J. PASSO, }

Portugal long since formed the plan of extending her American possessions as far as Rio de la Plata. Since the emigration of the royal family, this plan had been frequently reconsidered; and it was on that

account that the Portugueze government so eagerly seized the opportunity of sending out an expedition, when Elio implored its aid in 1811. Among those banished from Buenos Ayres in consequence of the revolution on the 15th of April 1815, there were many who encouraged the Portugueze to pursue their favourite plan; namely, Alvear, Garcia, and Herrera. They sent for troops to Lisbon, and an encampment was made at Rio Grande. When the troops had assembled to the number of ten thousand men, the Portugueze general Lecor invaded the Banda Oriental on two different sides. One part of his troops, under the command of General Curado, took the road of Las Missiones de los Guaranies, the other part took possession of the fort Santa Teresa, Rocha, San Carlos, and Maldonado. General Lecor had fixed his head-quarters at the last port in December 1816.

Artigas determined to oppose the invaders. He is the friend of independence; as a proof of which, he refused the offers of the Spanish government, which would have made him brigadier, to induce him to espouse the royal cause. Artigas is con-

sidered as an oracle by his countrymen, and great hopes of success are entertained from his opposition. He obtained at first some advantages over the division commanded by Curado; but General Lecor having advanced to Montevideo, the garrison evacuated that place, and the municipality sent a deputation to offer to him the keys of the town. Lecor entered Montevideo on the 20th of January 1817, and he still possessed it in May last, though greatly harassed by Artigas's guerrillas, who occupy the country around, and prevent the town from being supplied with provisions from the interior. These guerrillas have lately dislodged the Portugueze from the battery called Del Cerro, which commands the town and the bay. The military operations of the Portugueze have besides been checked by the insurrection which broke out in Pernambuco in last April, and by the hostile preparations of the government of Buenos Ayres, which, by the last accounts, was about to act against them.

The army which protected the boundaries between the provinces of Rio de la

Plata and Chili, crossed the Andes about the middle of January, and took possession of the provinces of Chili, after having defeated the royalists in many encounters. About the same time the royal army in Peru, suffering much from diseases and want of provisions, began to abandon the advantageous positions it had taken up in the valley of Tujui. One of the divisions of the royalists was then defeated at Yamparaes. After this check the whole army was retreating to Potosi, and one of the divisions of the independents, under the command of Colonel Guemes, attacked its rearguard in Humagua, and took three hundred prisoners and six pieces of artillery.

CHAPTER SECOND.

REVOLUTION OF CHILI. — MEETING OF THE CONGRESS. — ENACTMENTS OF THE CONGRESS. — DISSOLUTION OF THE CONGRESS BY THE JUNTA. — INVASION BY THE ROYALIST TROOPS FROM LIMA. — INTERMEDIATE EVENTS, AND ULTIMATE FAVOURABLE SUCCESS OF THE ROYALIST EXPEDITION. — THE COUNTRY AGAIN GOT POSSESSION OF BY THE PATRIOTS FROM BUENOS AYRES, UNDER GENERAL SAN MARTIN.

THE captain-generalship of Chili is situate between the Andes and the Pacific Ocean; bounded on the north by Peru, on the east by the provinces of Rio de la Plata, and on the south by Arauco, from which it is separated by the river Biobio. It contains a population of eight hundred thousand persons, who inhabit the two intendencias of Santiago and La Concepcion*. The population of Santiago,

* The principal provinces of these intendencias are Copiapo, Coquimbo, Guasco, Quillota, Aconcagua, Santiago, Melipilla, Valparaiso, Rancagua, Talca, Chillan, Laxa, and Concepcion de Penco.

which is the capital, exceeds forty thousand persons.

The inhabitants of Santiago compelled the captain-general Carrasco, on the 18th of July 1810, to resign his command; and Count de la Conquista was appointed to succeed him. Under the administration of the count, a plan for revolution was developed, and the most respectable landholders, being called together by the captain-general, assembled in the hall of the consulado on the 18th of September 1810. This assembly, taking into consideration the existing situation of the peninsula, appointed those whom, upon mature deliberation, they judged most proper to form a new government more suitable to existing circumstances. The president of the new government was the Count de la Conquista.

The junta of Chili summoned deputies to form a congress, and for this purpose they circulated the act prescribing the method to be pursued by the municipalities in the election of representatives. The people of Santiago assembled on the 1st of April 1811, that they might elect the representatives for that capital; and a de-

tachment of troops was stationed in the square of the Consulado to preserve order. This detachment belonged to the battalion of infantry of La Concepcion, which was entirely devoted to Don J. Figueroa, a Spaniard, who now commanded it. Figueroa, though employed by the junta, and generally considered as attached to the revolutionary party, had in truth raised a faction against it; and, taking advantage of the circumstances attending the election, renounced his allegiance to the junta. A skirmish ensued between the partisans of Figueroa and the troops that were still faithful to the junta. Fifty-six men were killed in this engagement; but victory declared for the junta. The principal conspirators were seized and banished; Figueroa was executed, the audiencia dissolved, and a court called *de apelacion* established in the place of the audiencia.

Remonstrances were made against the number of members forming the congress, which was considered too numerous. It was likewise asserted that many members had been elected in an illegal manner. The elections had in fact been made by the

people, but according to the act passed by the junta, fixing the number of representatives to be sent by each municipality. The result of the election thus made was, that there was no proportion between the population of some towns, and the number of representatives allowed them by the act. Three brothers, named Carrera, sons of a wealthy landholder in Santiago, put themselves at the head of the discontented, among whom were the military stationed in that city, and loudly called for reform: this happened in September 1811. The necessity of reform was acknowledged, and tranquillity was restored, by the congress promising that Santiago should in future have only half their former number of representatives, and that those from La Concepcion should be newly elected. These promises were complied with, and this reform having taken place in the congress, its sessions were resumed and opened by their decreeing that the Spaniards, who were disaffected to the new government, should leave the country within six months; this time was allowed them to dispose of their property. A re-

capitulation is made in this decree of the causes which induced Chili to form a separate government; and the different conspiracies are likewise enumerated which the Spaniards had planned to overthrow it. The congress enacted besides that the curates should no longer receive any emolument from their parishioners for the performance of their clerical duties; but the public treasury was to provide for their support. The future children of slaves were declared free; and those slaves who should come to Chili were to become freemen at the end of six months. Liberty of commerce was likewise decreed, with a few exceptions, which were deemed necessary for the protection of a manufactory which they had in Chili for baize, and another for coarse hempen cloth. In the municipalities were many who occupied places purchased of the government, which was established by the laws of the Indies; but the congress annulled the ancient law on this subject, and decreed that the municipalities should henceforth be composed of members annually elected. Many offices under the administration, which were con-

sidered useless, were suppressed, and even the salaries of those who retained their places reduced. A manufactory of fire-arms, a mathematical school, and a military school, styled *artilleria practica*, were likewise established. The junta was invested with nearly the same powers which the captain-general of Chili had possessed before the revolution; the congress, however, retained that of giving commissions to superior officers in the army. Ferdinand's head was still continued on the coin; and notwithstanding the inclination of the congress to break the chain which linked Chili to the mother country, Abascal, the viceroy of Lima, remained yet on terms of amity with the congress.

The Honourable Mr. Fleming, brigadier in the Spanish service, touched at Chili, in his way to Lima, on the 27th of July 1811. Mr. Fleming, during his stay in Valparaiso, addressed many letters to the congress, in which he asked, in the name of the Spanish government, that deputies should be sent to the cortes. Having reached Lima, he again addressed the congress in a letter dated the 3d of Oc-

tober 1811. In this letter he advises the congress to give up all hopes of success in the objects they were aiming at, for the British cabinet, he said, highly disapproved of the revolution. This assertion was however officially contradicted by Lord Strangford, the British embassador at Rio Janeiro, in a letter addressed to the government of Buenos Ayres, on the 13th of September 1813, by order and in the name of the British government.

The Carreras, being encouraged by the happy result on the 4th of September, formed a plan for placing themselves at the head of the government. One of them was major in the grenadiers, another a captain in the artillery. Having succeeded in gaining an ascendancy over the men in their different corps, they put themselves at the head of the troops on the 15th of November 1811, and compelled the congress to depose the members which composed the junta, and to nominate in their stead three new members, one of whom was Don J. M. Carrera. The junta decreed that a new regiment of cavalry, which was called *gran guardia nacional*,

should be formed; and J. M. Carrera was appointed colonel of it, that they might the better succeed in keeping their usurped power. Thus strengthened, the junta proceeded to dissolve the congress, which they did on the 2d of December 1811.

The new junta was entirely biassed by the Carreras, to whom the young military were likewise devoted. They ruled without control; and, notwithstanding the acknowledgment of king Ferdinand which had been made by the preceding government, they changed the Spanish for a tri-coloured flag. The Carreras did not peaceably enjoy their usurped power; they were threatened with four conspiracies, which however they succeeded in suppressing. Differences likewise arose between the brothers, which induced J. M. Carrera to withdraw from the government, and the administration rested for a time solely with his associates; but a reconciliation having taken place between them, J. M. Carrera resumed his former situation on the 27th October 1812.

The viceroy of Lima, availing himself of the discord that reigned at Chili, or-

dered Brigadier Pareja to attack the country with a body of troops. Pareja landed, in the beginning of the year 1813, on the shore of Sanvicente, not far from the port of Talcahuano, which he attacked and took possession of without much resistance. He then advanced as far as the city of La Concepcion, where his army was strengthened by the garrison there stationed declaring for him. Pareja's forces amounted to nearly 4,000 men, and they continued their march towards the Maule, a river which serves as a boundary to the intendencias of Santiago and La Concepcion.

Intelligence being received of Pareja's invasion, J. M. Carrera left his brother Don Juan Josè in his place in the government, and marched into the field at the head of six thousand men. Carrera approached the royalists, and in the night of the 12th April sent a detachment of troops with the object of surprising their encampment at Yerbas-buenas. This scheme succeeded, and the royalists suffered severely at first; but recovering from their surprise, and the patriots being but a small detachment from the army, they made great

havock in it. Pareja was nevertheless deterred from continuing the campaign, and retired to Chillan, where he fortified himself. The garrisons left by Pareja in Talcahuano and La Concepcion were inconsiderable, and their chiefs escaped to Peru at the approach of the patriots, who thus recovered those places.

The junta now sent Juan J. Carrera to the army, and were thus freed from the influence of both brothers. J. M. Carrera's place was filled by another. The junta then consisted of Don J. A. Perez, Don A. Eyzaguirre, and Don M. Infante, and they determined to hold their sessions nearer to the theatre of war, in the town of Talca, situate on the Maule, where they might better watch over the safety of the country. The army continued under the command of J. M. Carrera, who ruled without control over the country where his troops were stationed; but the people, growing weary of his despotism, as well as of the devastation committed by his army, openly declared, throughout the whole intendencia of La Concepcion, for the royalists. Carrera proved himself likewise an unskilful general, and the govern-

ment determined to remove him. Colonel O'Higgins was then appointed commander in chief of the army, and Colonel M'Kenna second in command. These appointments were made on the 24th of November 1813. Carrera refused to resign his command, but the army declaring for O'Higgins, he was obliged to yield; and returning afterwards, to Santiago, accompanied by his brother Luis, both were made prisoners by a detachment of royalists, and conducted to Chillan.

The royal forces remained at Chillan nearly a year, during which period no engagement of consequence took place. Brigadier Gainza brought reinforcements from Lima, and took the command of the army in consequence of the death of Pareja. The troops from Chili were divided into two brigades; the one, commanded by O'Higgins, was at La Concepcion; the other, under the command of M'Kenna, was encamped at El Membrillal, four leagues from Chillan. This brigade Gainza attacked on the 19th of March 1814, and was repulsed with loss. Another engagement took place on the following

day between Gainza and O'Higgins, who came to the support of M'Kenna; and here again the royalists suffered severely. But, notwithstanding this last check, Gainza determined to march against Santiago, which was almost defenceless; and O'Higgins's troops being in want of cavalry, strengthened his hopes of success, for they were in consequence unable to keep up with the rapidity of Gainza's movements. The royal troops took the road to Santiago, and had already crossed the Maule, sixty leagues from that capital, when O'Higgins encamped on the opposite side of the river. In the night O'Higgins quitted the camp, but without destroying the encampment, and crossed the Maule. At day-break Gainza was so much surprised at seeing an encampment before him, and an army in his rear, that he gave up his plan, and changed his position. He retired to Talca, which town he had taken some days before. O'Higgins then opened a communication with Santiago, and intercepted that of the enemy with Chillan.

The capture of Talca by the royalists was attributed to a want of energy in the

junta; the members of which had returned to Santiago some days before, withdrawing from Talca part of the garrison to escort them in their way. A revolution in consequence took place in Santiago, the junta was dissolved, and the government was intrusted to Don F. de la Lastra, who was then governor of Valparaiso; and he was styled supreme director. Captain Hillyar, of his Britannick majesty's frigate the Phœbe, arrived at that time from Lima with instructions from the viceroy to propose terms of accommodation to the government of Chili. Lastra called a meeting of the principal persons at Santiago, to announce to them Captain Hillyar's mission; and it was agreed that the supreme director should propose terms of capitulation to the Spanish general Gainza. The capitulation was concluded on the 5th of May 1814. It was stipulated that Gainza should re-embark for Lima, with his troops, within two months; that he should leave the places he then occupied in the province of La Concepcion in the same state of military defence as he had found them; that the viceroy of Lima

should acknowledge the government of Chili, and all the innovations which it had made; and that Chili should send a certain number of deputies to Spain, who were to have seats in the cortes. Two colonels were given as hostages on each side, and peace was for a time restored; but Gainza delayed to comply with the articles of the treaty under various pretences until General Osorio arrived with reinforcements from Lima.

J. M. Carrera and his brother Luis had made their escape from Chillan, and were earnestly employed in giving new energy to their party. By means of their partisans, the Carreras succeeded in bribing the troops stationed at Santiago, and deposed Lastra on the 23d of August 1814. They re-established the junta, and Don J. M. Carrera, Don M. Munos Ursua, and Don J. Urive, were the members elected. Though the inhabitants of Santiago had no particular attachment for Lastra, they highly disapproved of this new revolution, which had again placed the Carreras at the head of the government; and the return of General O'Higgins, who was in Talca with his

army, was immediately desired. O'Higgins marched towards the capital; and a few skirmishes took place soon after between his and Carreras's troops; and they were on the eve of engaging in a decisive battle, when a person deputed by General Osorio, who had succeeded Gainza in the command of the royal army, arrived at Santiago. This deputy announced that the viceroy Abascal disapproved of the capitulation.

The present danger of the country put an end to the civil war. O'Higgins, to stop discord, submitted to the authority of the junta. Carrera made new regulations in the army, being desirous of displacing those whom he considered obnoxious to him; and he therefore dismissed a considerable number who happened to be the very best officers in the service. Discontent arose among the soldiers, and innumerable desertions took place. Carrera retired to Santiago, leaving the army under the command of O'Higgins. General Osorio, at the head of four thousand men, advanced as far as Cachapual, when O'Higgins shut himself up at Rancagua, twenty-three leagues from Santiago, and

was there besieged. Osorio attacked the town, and an engagement ensued which lasted thirty-six hours. During the engagement Carrera approached the town with reinforcements, and Osorio was already moving to recross the Cachapual, leaving two hundred men engaged with the patriots to cover his retreat. Carrera, notwithstanding, did not enter the town, and fell back on Santiago, and then Osorio returned to the attack. O'Higgins, having lost two-thirds of his troops, determined to evacuate the town, and, opening to himself a way through the lines of the enemy, was retiring to the capital with two hundred of his dragoons, but he was obliged to alter his plan on account of the conduct of the Carreras.

The Carreras thought only of escaping, though they had under their command in Santiago fifteen hundred troops. Many depredations were committed by the soldiers before they quitted the capital, the inhabitants of which, being exasperated at such conduct, assembled, and sent deputies to Osorio, calling for his support to re-establish order. In the mean time more than

two thousand emigrants from Chili arrived at Mendoza, the boundary of Chili and Buenos Ayres, and among them six hundred troops under J. M. Carrera. Osorio took without opposition Santiago, Valparaiso, and other principal towns; and thus the captain-generalship of Chili fell again into the power of the king's forces at the end of October 1814. Many persecutions, arrests, and punishments followed; and a great number of patriots were sent to the desert island of Juan Fernandez, one hundred and twenty leagues from the coast.

To prevent the royalists from pursuing their success, the government of Buenos Ayres sent to Mendoza some troops, which were united to those which had withdrawn from Chili, under the command of Brigadier San Martin. These troops were gradually increased to the number of four thousand, which San Martin took great care to discipline. Thus prepared, and being aware of the discontent which reigned throughout all the provinces of Chili in consequence of the oppressive conduct of the Spanish governors, he invaded the country about the middle of January 1817.

The army was divided into two bodies, one of which was commanded by Brigadier Don E. Soler, and the other by Brigadier O'Higgins. The obstacles which opposed the crossing of the Andes, and the enemy fortified in the principal defiles, being overcome, the patriots occupied Aconcagua, Santarosa, and other points on the high-road, which the enemy had abandoned. The royalists took up their position in Chacabuco, a hill of difficult access, which overlooks the plain of Santarosa, and through which passes the only road to Santiago, from which city it is thirteen leagues distant. San Martin, without waiting for the arrival of his artillery, attacked them on the morning of the 12th of February, and notwithstanding their numerous cavalry, and fifteen hundred good infantry, dislodged them from their positions, killed six hundred, and made about the same number prisoners. The remaining troops dispersed, and the captain-general Marco, who commanded in the battle, was made prisoner near Valparaiso. San Martin advanced to Santiago, where a congress of the principal inhabitants now assembled, which elected the same General

San Martin as supreme director of Chili. He, however, refusing to accept that appointment, the congress elected Brigadier O'Higgins, who at present rules over that country. The glorious success of this campaign, which has placed all the provinces of Chili in the possession of the patriots, is in great part the result of the wise measures and uncommon activity of General San Martin.

PART IV.

THE REVOLUTION IN MEXICO.

CONCLUSION OF THE WHOLE.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION IN THE TOWN OF DOLORES, INSTIGATED BY THE PRIEST HIDALGO. — HE MARCHES AGAINST MEXICO WITH ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN. — BATTLE OF ACULCO. — HIDALGO RETREATS TO GUADALAXARA. — BATTLE OF EL PUENTE DE CALDERON. — HIDALGO MADE PRISONER WITH HIS STAFF. — RAYON, A LAWYER, FORMS A JUNTA IN ZITAQUARO. — CAPTURE OF ZITAQUARO BY CALLEJAS, AND HIS DECREE TO DESTROY THE TOWN. — VICTORIES OF THE PATRIOT MORELOS. — SIEGE OF QUAUTLA AMILPAS BY CALLEJA. — SUBSEQUENT OPERATIONS OF MORELOS. — ASSEMBLING OF THE CONGRESS. — MORELOS MADE PRISONER. — INTERCEPTED DOCUMENTS. — LAST EVENTS. — CONCLUSION.

THE viceroyalty of New Spain is divided into two captain-generalships and two comandancias generales. The captain-generalships are Mexico and Yucatan. The comandancias generales are provincias internas orientales and provincias internas occidentales. The authority of the viceroy extends through the whole viceroyalty, though in military affairs the captain-general of Yucatan acts independently of

him. The viceroyalty is subdivided into twelve intendencias, which are Mexico, Puebla, Oaxaca, Vera Cruz, Merida de Yucatan, Guadalaxara, Goanaxòato, Durango, San Luis Potosi, Sonora, Valladolid de Mechoacan, and Zacatecas. The corregimiento de Queretaro and the gobierno de Tlascala are in the viceroyalty of New Spain, but are distinct territories, and not comprehended in the division of the twelve intendencias. The population of Mexico amounts to six millions; that of the capital alone to one hundred and forty thousand.

Mexico had enjoyed an apparent tranquillity since the conspiracy of the Spaniards against the viceroy Iturrigaray. The central junta had placed the civil power of the viceroyalty in the hands of the archbishop, who was universally beloved on account of his moderate and mild conduct. Iturrigaray had been deposed merely because he appeared to favour the plan of establishing a junta for the government of the viceroyalty when Spain was invaded by the French, and deprived of a monarch's sway. The Spaniards, who had

defeated Iturrigaray's plan, were become unpopular from intoxication of success; when, to increase their delirium, intelligence arrived that the central junta had lavished on them the highest honours.

The situation in which the Mexicans found themselves became insupportable when the good archbishop was removed from his command; and the members of the audiencia, whom they considered as their most violent enemies, appointed to succeed him in his government, as viceroy, until the arrival of Don J. Venegas, who was nominated viceroy by the regency of Cadiz.

When Iturrigaray was deposed, the troops which were constantly stationed between Mexico and Vera Cruz in time of war, to prevent any attack on the coast from the British cruisers, were ordered into the interior. The cavalry regiment de la Reyna was sent to Queretaro. Three captains, Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo, who served in that regiment, were natives of San Miguel el Grande, a town near Goanaxoato, more than seventy leagues north of Mexico, and friends of Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a resident clergyman or curate, in

the town of Dolores, which is situate near San Miguel el Grande and Goanaxoato in the intendencia of Goanaxoato. Hidalgo enjoyed a valuable living in Dolores, and was a man of distinguished talents, and better informed than the generality of the clergy in New Spain. He had gained the affection of the Indians, whom he had taken great care to instruct. Having observed the dislike to the Spaniards which reigned throughout the viceroyalty, Hidalgo, it is said, laid a plan for an insurrection, and the revolt was to take place in all the provinces of New Spain on the 1st of November 1810. Allende, Aldama, and Abasolo readily joined him, and their activity in disseminating discontent was wonderful; they made strong representations on every circumstance which could tend to alienate the minds of the natives from Spain. The plan was approaching to maturity, and its partisans were numerous, when Iturriaga, a canon of Valladolid, one of the conspirators, discovered on his deathbed all the plan to Gil, a priest residing at Queretaro. The information thus received was sent to some

of the members of the audiencia, which was at that time divided into two parties. The members who received this intelligence concealed it from the others, and privately advised the Spaniards of Queretaro to act with respect to the Corregidor, falsely accused of being at the head of the conspiracy, as the Spaniards of Mexico had with Iturrigaray two years before. The corregidor Dominguez was accordingly watched, attacked in the dead of the night, and seized in his bed. This arrest spread alarm among the principal conspirators, who, dreading the discovery of their plan, determined to hasten its execution. Captain Allende was at that time in San Miguel el Grande, and having assembled a few soldiers who were attached to him, he set out for Dolores, where he arrived on the 14th of September 1810, having obtained eight hundred recruits in his march. On the same day Hidalgo preached a sermon to the Indians. His object was to point out the tyranny of the Europeans, the state to which the treachery of the Spaniards had reduced the peninsula, and the danger the South Americans were in, of being delivered

up to the French or the British, who would assuredly extirpate the Holy Catholic religion. Hidalgo ended his discourse with calling his Indians to arms; and to arms they flew with fury. Allende appeared by the side of Hidalgo, and they unitedly led the mob to San Miguel el Grande, where they pillaged the houses of the Spaniards. Two squadrons of the cavalry regiment de la Reyna joined Hidalgo, who immediately proceeded to the town of Zelaya, where the greater part of the regiment of infantry called de Zelaya, as well as part of the horse regiment *del Principe*, joined likewise in the insurrection. Hidalgo proceeded next to the wealthy town of Goanaxoato, sixty leagues west north-west of Mexico, and whose inhabitants exceed eighty thousand persons.

Riano, the intendant of Goanaxoato, prepared to oppose Hidalgo; but the battalion of infantry stationed there having declared for the independents, Riano and nearly two hundred Spaniards retired to the building called La Alhondiga, from whence they fired on the assailants. But the Spa-

niards being compelled to yield, Goanaxoato fell on the 29th of September into the power of Hidalgo, who there found in the treasury five millions in cash and bar silver.

The viceroy Venegas, who had arrived at Mexico on the 16th of September, called a meeting of the principal persons in the city, and in this assembly the honours granted by the regency to the enemies of Iturrigaray were publickly proclaimed. When intelligence reached the new viceroy of the progress Hidalgo had made, he despatched troops under the command of Count de la Cadena to defend Queretaro, an important military point forty-two leagues distant from Mexico. Queretaro is a town containing eighty thousand persons, who all favoured the insurrection, and were desirous of placing Hidalgo at their head; which the viceroy prevented by having, opportunely for the royal cause, introduced Spanish troops into the town. On the 23d of September Venegas issued a proclamation, in which he attempted to restore tranquillity, by observing that the Americans were now placed on an equal

footing with the Spaniards by the decree of the central junta, on the 15th of October 1809, and promised that the cortes should shortly take into consideration the reforms necessary for the prosperity of Spanish America.

Hidalgo commenced the exercise of his new power by repealing the tax called *tributos*, which the Indians had paid ever since the conquest; and this measure fixed their decision to join Hidalgo, to whose army crowds of Indians flocked from every part of Mechoacan. Venegas formed corps of guerrillas composed of Spaniards, and likewise a militia, but the militia was not composed solely of Spaniards. To the militia he gave the name of *patriotas*. The guerrillas were, however, more injurious than were even the independents to the royal cause; and the viceroy, having received innumerable complaints of their conduct, disbanded them.

The insurrection gained ground rapidly. Lagos, a town in the intendencia of Guadalaxara, rendered famous for a great fair which was held in the town every five years; Zacatecas, in the vicinity of which

are many of the richest mines in Mexico; and other towns situate north of Queretaro, eagerly embraced the opportunity of declaring against the Spaniards.

During Hidalgo's stay in Goanaxoato, he introduced a degree of discipline into the crowd which had followed him, appointing officers to command these newly-formed military corps. He established likewise a mint; made wooden cannon, and one of brass, on which was engraved *El Libertador Americano*. Hidalgo's troops, which might more properly be called a caravan, were armed with pikes, knives, hatchets, slings, blunderbusses, and a few muskets. From Goanaxoato Hidalgo marched to Valladolid, which he entered on the 20th of October, amidst shouts of joy from the Indians and Creoles. The most exalted honours were conferred upon Hidalgo, both by the ecclesiastics and civil officers in the town, and in his military chest they put one million two hundred thousand dollars: two regiments of militia, one of which was called the regiment of Patzquaro, here joined him. On the 24th of October Hidalgo fell back on

Indaparapeo, and having called a council of the principal captains of the army, many promotions took place; Hidalgo was proclaimed generalissimo of the Mexican armies; Allende captain-general; Ballesa, Ximenes, Arias, and Aldama, lieutenant-generals; Abasolo, Ocon, and the Martines, two brothers, field-marshals. A mass was said on the occasion, and a solemn *Te Deum* sung; the generalissimo reviewed the army, dividing it into regiments of one thousand men each; eighty regiments were thus formed; three Spanish dollars per day were assigned for the pay of each colonel, and captain of cavalry; one dollar for each cavalry soldier, and half a dollar for each foot soldier. Hidalgo appeared at the review dressed in his uniform as generalissimo, which was blue with red facings, embroidered with gold and silver, and a black sash likewise embroidered. On his breast he wore a medal, on which was the image of the virgin de Guadalupe, which is held in great veneration in Mexico. The colours of the army were white and blue, resembling the ban-

ners of the ancient emperors of Anahuac or Mexico.

Hidalgo's troops marched from Indaparapeo to Mexico, taking the road of Marabatio, Tepetongo, Jordana, and Istlahuaca, and entered Toluca, twelve leagues west of the capital, on the 27th of October. Mexico was now in imminent danger; the populace, and even a considerable number of the higher orders, hated the Spaniards. The royal forces were divided into different corps, which were stationed at considerable distances from each other. Don F. Calleja, who commanded one brigade, was at San Luis de Potosi, more than one hundred leagues from Mexico; the Count de la Cadena, who commanded three thousand troops, was at Queretaro, and Venegas had but a handful of men, which were encamped in the environs of Mexico, rather to keep in awe the inhabitants, than to oppose Hidalgo. At this crisis Venegas resorted to an expedient which saved him: he applied to the archbishop of Mexico, and to the inquisition, for a sentence of excommuni-

cation against Hidalgo and his abettors, and against all his troops. Solemn excommunications were accordingly denounced against the independents; and the inquisition published an edict declaring Hidalgo a heretick. The inquisitors supported these declarations by observing that Hidalgo had been accused ten years ago before the inquisition; at that time he had had the good fortune, or had possessed art sufficient, to remove their jealousy. Hidalgo answered this edict by a manifesto, in which he acknowledges the principles of his belief, and pointed out the contradictions of the inquisitors in their accusations against him, observing that he is accused of denying the existence of hell, and of maintaining at the same time that a canonized pope was in hell; that he denied the authority of the sacred scriptures, and was considered nevertheless a Lutheran.

These excommunications made no impression on the independent troops, for Hidalgo, himself a priest, easily persuaded his Indians that those who had pronounced the dreadful sentence against him, being

his enemies, were by no means legal judges in his cause, and that the excommunication would undoubtedly fall on those who had pronounced it. The inhabitants, however, of Mexico, and of the provinces where the insurrection had not yet reached, remained tranquil, deeply impressed with terror.

At the approach of Hidalgo's army, Venegas sent fifteen hundred men to Istlahuaca under Colonel Truxillo, one of his aids-de-camp. These troops soon after received a reinforcement of five hundred men, one hundred and fifty of whom were slaves. When Hidalgo entered Toluca, Truxillo fell back on Lerma, nine leagues distant from Mexico, and availing himself of a bridge on the river Lerma, he formed an encampment, and by this means defended the pass. The independents crossed the river by Atenco, and the royal forces then retired to an eminence, El Monte de las Cruces, where Hidalgo attacked them. His artillery, consisting of four cannon, marched first; the regiments of Zelaya and Valladolid, with the battalion of Goanaxoato, followed next; and the horse regi-

ments of Patzquaro, Reyna, and Principe covered the rear and flank of the infantry, which was preceded by innumerable Indians. Truxillo, having been driven from his first position, was retreating to Mexico, when Hidalgo sent him proposals to come over to him. Truxillo admitted the envoys within his line, and then ordered his soldiers to fire on them. He was now very near Mexico, which he entered on the 30th of October with nearly three hundred men, having in his flight left the artillery behind. The Mexican Gazette mentioned this engagement as a victory obtained by the royal troops, and a medal was struck at Vera Cruz to perpetuate the memory of this achievement, and the names of Truxillo, Bringas, and Mendivil were engraved on it.

In consequence of the defeat at Monte de las Cruces, it was reported in Mexico that Hidalgo's troops were entering the city, which occasioned great alarm. Venegas had previously received intelligence that Morelos, a priest, commanded one corps of the independents, and had taken possession of many towns in the south

of Mexico; that Villagran was on his march to Mexico by the road of Tlalnepantla; and what increased the alarm was, that nothing was yet known in Mexico of the main body of the royal troops. Venegas was preparing to retire to Vera Cruz with the Spaniards, should he be overcome by the enemy; his troops, amounting to two thousand men, were drawn up in a line between two public walks in the city, Bucarelli and La Piedad, and his artillery was placed at the entrances of the city. On the 31st of October Hidalgo's troops were seen descending the hill of Santa Fè, and the sight evidently delighted the people, who anxiously expected that the independents would be triumphant. Venegas was at the head of his troops, expecting the enemy, who sent General Ximenes with despatches for the viceroy. Ximenes presented himself at Chalpultepec, three miles from the city, in a magnificent carriage, attended by forty horsemen; and in this parade of state he delivered his despatches. Their contents were never known, Venegas taking great care to conceal from the inhabitants of

Mexico the purport of this mission. The despatches were returned without any answer.

To storm the city seemed now almost unavoidable; Hidalgo, however, determined not to attack it, and the next morning his troops were seen retiring. It was supposed that he had received intelligence of the defeat of General Sanchez at Queretaro, and of the troops of Calleja having joined those of Count de la Cadena, which took place on the 28th of October; and these united forces were marching to the assistance of the capital. Others say, that Hidalgo's natural moderation and horror of shedding blood were the causes of his apparent timidity. Whatever motives really actuated him, it is certain his troops withdrew in confusion.

Hidalgo now fixed his camp on a hill of an almost rectangular form, which commands the village of Aculco, and the country around on the north and east sides. His artillery, which consisted of fourteen pieces, was placed on the sides of the hill; and his army formed two lines, between which were placed the undis-

ciplined Indians. Calleja divided his troops into five columns; and on the 7th of November he attacked Hidalgo on the north and east side of his camp. The Indians were panic-struck when they saw the good order and military appearance of the royal army, consisting of six thousand men; and as soon as the firing commenced they took to flight, which entirely disconcerted the regular troops in Hidalgo's army. Calleja pursued the enemy, and great havock was made: according to his official report, no less than ten thousand independents were killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.

Hidalgo retreated to Goanaxoato, where Calleja soon after followed him. Goanaxoato is built on an eminence, and the road leading to the town is a defile, which the independents fortified. Calleja disposessed them of all their batteries on the 24th of November, taking twenty-five cannon, among which was *El Libertador Americano.* Hidalgo's troops, enraged at the attack of the Spaniards, assassinated more than two hundred Spaniards who were confined in the Alhondiga. On the

following day the royal troops stormed the town and took it; the soldiers were allowed to pillage and kill for two hours. The day after all the officers and many other prisoners were shot; the mineralogists Chovel, Davalos, and Valencia suffered the same fate. Calleja issued a proclamation, which ordered that within twenty hours all arms and ammunition of every description should be delivered to the government, under penalty of death in case of disobedience. The same penalty was to be inflicted on those who should be found guilty of supporting opinions which tended to rebellion. Every union of persons exceeding three was to be dispersed by firing on them.

Hidalgo now marched towards Guadalaxara, a city one hundred and fifty leagues north-west of Mexico, and containing ninety-one thousand inhabitants; and having in his march been victorious in several skirmishes with different detachments of the Spanish troops, he entered the city, and then sent Mercado, a priest, to the port of Sanblas, which readily capitulated. Mercado took forty-three cannon at Sanblas, and sent them

to Guadalaxara. Hidalgo's authority was evidently acknowledged in the intendencias of Valladolid de Mechoacan, Zacatecas, Guadalaxara, San Luis Potosi, and part of Sonora, by the submission shown to his generals.

Calleja advanced to Guadalaxara, and in the mean time General Don J. Cruz defeated the independents at Zamora, and then took the city of Valladolid, where his conduct towards the inhabitants was marked by the most dreadful cruelty. When Calleja arrived in the vicinity of Guadalaxara, Hidalgo resolved to engage the royal troops, and in consequence encamped his army on a rising-ground, which was protected on one side by a hill, on another by a small river, the bridge over which he fortified. Many batteries were placed at the top of the hill, and two others defended the army on the left, making in all one hundred and thirty guns. Calleja divided his troops into two columns; one of which attacked the hill, and deprived the independents of their batteries. The second column attacked the left side of the

enemy's camp, but, having been repulsed, they were retreating to their first position. Having, however, obtained a reinforcement, this column successfully opposed Hidalgo's cavalry, which, taking advantage of the retrograde movement this column had already made, were endeavouring to surround it. Hidalgo now charged the Spanish cavalry, which, being supported by the grenadiers, repulsed the attack so vigorously, that they made great slaughter. There was one battery which prevented the two columns of the Spanish army from penetrating into the centre of Hidalgo's camp. This battery Calleja attacked in person, and took it with little opposition. In the intermediate time Emparan made an attack on the independent cavalry, which was numerous, and routed them completely. The consternation was great in Hidalgo's camp, and victory declared for the royal troops. This engagement took place, on the 17th of January 1811, at El Puente de Calderon, eleven leagues from Guadalaxara.

Calleja immediately despatched a detachment under General Cruz to retake

Sanblas; but this port was already in the possession of the Spaniards, in consequence of a counter revolution which took place at the instigation of a priest, the curate of the town. Hidalgo, having rallied the remnant of his troops, marched to Zacatecas, where he strengthened his army by obtaining cannon. There was a brass foundery in the town. He likewise made a new silver coinage; but still continued on the coin the head of Ferdinand the seventh. From Zacatecas he went to San Luis Potosi, where he formed different corps of guerrillas, and with some chosen troops he then marched to the town of Saltillo, about two hundred leagues from Mexico, in the military government of Provincias Internas Orientales. The governor of El Nuevo Reyno de Leon declared for Hidalgo; the governor of El Nuevo Santander made his escape; and the governors of Coahuila and Texas were arrested by the independent party in these towns.

A Spanish division of troops arrived about this period at Altamira, under the command of Don N. Arredondo. These troops, as well as the army under Calleja,

which was now at San Luis Potosi, were in pursuit of Hidalgo. The governor of the Provincias Internas Occidentales likewise sent troops, under the command of Don M. Ochoa, to prevent the retreat of Hidalgo, whose plan had been to retire to Louisiana, and there to assemble his partisans to arms, that he might resume the war. Don Y. Elisondo, who commanded one detachment of the independent forces, resolved himself to arrest Hidalgo, that he might thus obtain his pardon from the Spaniards; and having succeeded in drawing to his side Menchaca, Carrasco, Borrego, Uranga, and other officers, he attacked Hidalgo at Acatita de Bajan on the 21st of March 1811. Hidalgo, who was pursuing his march, and little expected an enemy in a friendly country, was easily overcome, and he and the officers of his staff were made prisoners. Fifty-two of them were immediately executed on the field of battle; and ten more, among whom were Hidalgo and Balleza, were taken to Chiguagua, and likewise put to death on the 27th of July 1811. Hidalgo was previously deprived of his priest's orders.

The death of Hidalgo and of his faithful companions in arms did not discourage the other chiefs, who continued in different parts still to support the revolution. Among these were Don N. Villagran, Don J. M. Morelos, and especially Don Y. Rayon, a lawyer, who had taken his position at El Saltillo, that he might favour Hidalgo's retreat. Rayon now fell back on Zacatecas, and in his way he defeated Ochoa, who opposed him. At Zacatecas he released three Spanish prisoners, whom he sent to the viceroy, proposing the following terms of accommodation: That a congress should be formed; and that an equal number of Spaniards and South Americans should have seats in this congress, and there debate on the best steps to be taken to put an end to the present war. Venegas merely answered, that if Rayon chose to lay down his arms, he should be included in the general indulto published by the government.

The indulto or amnesty, alluded to, was granted by the cortes at the end of 1810, and offered an act of oblivion for the present revolution, provided its instigators and

abettors would lay down their arms. Far from doing any good, this indulto injured the royal cause, for the Spanish chiefs did not employ it wisely; and in Mexico so little confidence was placed either in the indulto or in the promises of Venegas, that he was under the necessity of applying to the church, *el cabildo eclesiastico,* to give authority to his proclamations, and to persuade the people that the promises of the viceroy were not snares laid to entrap them. "On this account," says the cabildo eclesiastico, in a pastoral charge addressed to the clergy on the 17th of May 1812, "his excellency the viceroy, the worthy and legitimate representative of our catholick and most Christian king Ferdinand the seventh, has had the unparalleled goodness, not only to authorize us to be the guarantees and trustees of the indulto or general pardon granted to the insurgents, but also to permit us to grant to you likewise the power, reverend brethren, as by the present we do, to offer, promise, and assure, in the name of the Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and in the name of the Virgin

of Guadalupe, protectress of this kingdom, and in the name of the Christian and catholick king Ferdinand the seventh, and of his viceroy in these kingdoms, that a general pardon shall be duly granted to all those, who repenting themselves of their past faults, are now willing to lay down their arms," &c.

Calleja marched to attack Rayon at Zacatecas, but he withdrew to the intendencia of Valladolid. Colonel Lopez, who commanded a body of guerrillas in Zitaquaro, fortified the town, and was there attacked by Torre and Mora on the 22d of May 1811. The royalists were, however, completely defeated, and Torre and Mora fell in the battle. Elated with this victory, the independents marched against Valladolid, where Truxillo now commanded. The attack took place on the 30th of May, but Truxillo succeeded in repelling it. Rayon then fixed his head-quarters at Zitaquaro, and being there attacked by Emparan on the 4th of June, a bloody engagement ensued, in which the royalists lost eight hundred men, as well as their baggage; and they in consequence retired

to Toluca. The independents renewed their attack on Valladolid on the 23d of July, but their former ill success attended them.

It was supposed that a plan for revolt was now ripe in Mexico; the viceroy having received many denunciations, various arrests took place; those accused of conspiracy were tried; six of them, among whom was Ferrer, a lawyer, were condemned to death; six others were sentenced to hard labour at Puerto Rico. Two women were likewise found guilty of being in the conspiracy, and condemned for a certain term to be imprisoned. This happened in the month of August 1811.

Rayon formed a junta at Zitaquaro, which consisted of himself, Doctor Berdusco, and Don J. M. Liceaga. This junta pretended to acknowledge Ferdinand the seventh as their king, and in his name they published their acts and decrees. Intelligence of this new government having reached Goanaxoato, where Calleja had fixed his head-quarters, this general made a proclamation, offering ten thousand dollars for the head of either of the members of the junta. Venegas,

sensible that the revolution was gaining ground, hastened to destroy the junta; and Calleja had orders to make an immediate attack.

The town of Zitaquaro contains ten thousand inhabitants; it is forty leagues west of Mexico, and situate in a valley surrounded by high mountains. As the principal object in attacking this town was to seize the members of the junta, Calleja ordered Porlier, the commander of Toluca, to dispossess the independents of their position on the mountain Tenango, previous to his making the attack on Zitaquaro. This was done to prevent the independents from Zitaquaro retreating to Tenango. An attack on Zitaquaro was then made; and the following is the official communication on the subject by Calleja, to the viceroy, on the 2d of January 1812:

"The royal troops, after an engagement which lasted three hours, took the important point of Zitaquaro, which is situate between steep rocks, surrounded by entrenchments, and ditches, and defended by an immense body of people from twenty

surrounding leagues, which had previously collected themselves in the town.

"The rebels had added to that state of natural fortification in which Zitaquaro was placed all that art, despair, and eight months continued labour could contribute. The defeat of the two preceding expeditions had so much encouraged the people, that even women and children now united in repelling our attack. All, however, has yielded to the intrepidity of the army under my command.

"The enemy being completely routed, fled away in every direction, leaving the surrounding country covered with their dead and wounded. The rebels, *cabecillas*, Rayon, Liceaga, and Berdusco, had previously made their escape, and taken the road towards Tasco; nor has it been in my power to pursue them, my troops being already exhausted with fatigue, and the roads in a very bad state.

"The quantity of military stores is immense which we found in the town. I will send your excellency an exact list of them, as well as of the cannon which we took from the enemy. I now merely confine

myself to that information more immediately necessary to convey to your excellency, that it is owing to the valour and exertions of my officers as well as of my men that the engagement was so short. Their good conduct in this attack has exceeded even what they have displayed on former occasions, and our loss has been inconsiderable.

" My stay here will be as short as possible, and before my departure I will erase every vestige of the town from the face of the earth, that I may by this means punish the criminal instigators of so barbarous, impolitick, and destructive an insurrection, and give an example of terror to those who might otherwise be willing to support it.

" CALLEJA."

The following decree was next published :

" 1st, It is decreed that the Indians of Zitaquaro and its department shall be deprived of their property, as well as of those immunities and privileges which the extreme beneficence of the government had granted them.

"2d, This forfeited property, as well as that of those South Americans who have taken part in the insurrection, who accompanied the rebels in their flight, or who left the city at the entrance of the king's troops, to be placed in the public treasury.

"3d, If those who are included in this decree will present themselves to me, giving proofs of repentance, and of willingness to contribute to repair the roads &c. they shall receive their pardon; but property cannot be restored.

"4th, The capital of this department is to be transferred to Marabatio, where a military government is to be established; and the people are to be compelled to arm, equip, and support companies of infantry and cavalry for the defence of this department.

"5th, Monarchical government being hated by the inhabitants of this criminal town, who have supported three engagements against the king's forces, and having found the heads of many of our chiefs, who sacrificed their lives for the public good, placed on poles at the entrance of the town, we decree that every building in

Zitaquaro shall be rased to the ground, or destroyed by fire. Every inhabitant to leave the town within six days; and as a proof of mercy, I permit them to take their moveable property.

6thly, Every inhabitant to receive from the government a written testimonial of his name, family, and day of his departure. Any person remaining in the town after the time fixed for departure, or not having provided himself with the requisite testimonial, to be put to death.

" 7thly, All arms to be given up to the government, under the penalty of death.

" 8thly, The clergy to be sent to the bishop of Valladolid.

" 9thly, An absolute prohibition is made against rebuilding the town of Zitaquaro, or any other town which may in future be destroyed to punish rebellion.

" 10thly, Any town or village admitting either of the three members of the insurgent junta, or any of their delegates, or who shall refuse to surrender them to the king, or attempting to resist the king's troops, are subjected to the above-mentioned penalties.

" 11thly, The Count de Casa-rul is intrusted with enforcing this decree.

" CALLEJA."

The junta of Zitaquaro took refuge at El Real de Zultepec, a town thirty leagues west of Mexico, situate on a steep mountain. Notwithstanding the loss of Zitaquaro, the independents were not conquered. Morelos, Villagran, Canas, Aldama, and other generals, still commanded numerous corps of guerrillas, which were constantly employed in different parts in opposing the Spanish forces. The junta proposed terms of reconciliation to Venegas; but they were as ill received as former similar attempts made by Hidalgo and Rayon. The terms of reconciliation were proposed by the junta in an address to the Spaniards published on the 29th of March 1812. The junta in this address recapitulate the grievances from which they sought redress, and formed a plan, in case the Spaniards chose a continuance of war, that it should at least be carried on with less ferocity.

Morelos ruled over nearly the whole southern coast of Mexico, having defeated

the royal forces in many engagements, but most decisively in the battle fought at Tixtla on the 19th of August 1811. After that he besieged Acapulco; and with the principal part of his army, which he divided into two corps, he marched to Mexico. Brigadier Bravo, who commanded one of these divisions, conquered the Spanish general Musitu, and entered Quautla Amilpas, twenty-five leagues south of Mexico, while Morelos took possession of Izucar without any opposition. These advantages gained by the patriots prevented the royalists from dispersing the national junta after taking Zitaquaro. The troops of Morelos were likewise in possession of Huexapan, and of El Real de Tasco. The royalists, commanded by Colonel Soto, attacked Izucar on the 17th of February, but were repulsed, and Soto so severely wounded, that he was obliged to withdraw from the army. Llano, who succeeded to his command, renewed the attack on the 22d, and was likewise repulsed, though he had obtained possession of a hill called El Calvario, from whence he had bombarded the town. This attack was made by troops

just arrived from Spain; which were the first troops that had been sent into Mexico since the commencement of the revolution.

Calleja stormed Quautla Amilpas on the 19th of February, but was compelled to retreat after an engagement which lasted six hours. Llano raised the siege of Izucar, and joined Calleja on the 30th of February. In his march he defeated several corps of guerrillas commanded by F. de la Rosa and others. Morelos likewise received reinforcements at Quautla; and every military manœuvre possible was employed to defend the town. Calleja says, in a letter addressed to a friend, from his camp before Quautla, dated the 15th of March 1812, "We will precipitate this town and its inhabitants into the very centre of hell, whatever exertion or fatigue it may cost us. The enthusiasm of these insurgents is unparalleled. Morelos, with a prophetic countenance, gives his orders, and whatever they may be, they are always punctually executed. We continually hear the inhabitants swear that they will be buried under the ruins rather than deliver up the town. They dance around the

bombs as they fall, to prove that they are fearless of danger."

Quautla Amilpas is situate in a plain; the town is rather elevated, and commands a view of the environs. It was fortified by Morelos, who found the whole town, as well as the army, ready to second his views. The siege, however, being regularly carried on, provisions at length failed, and Morelos ordered a detachment to make a sally, that the guerrillas, who were harassing the rear of the besiegers, might receive intimation to endeavour, on a day specified, to introduce provisions into the town. Accordingly Field-marshal Matamoros, a priest, and Colonel Perdiz, with a hundred horsemen, forced the line of the enemy in the night of the 23d of April 1812. On the 27th the Spanish camp was attacked by the besieged, and by the guerrillas, who were, however, repulsed, and lost near a thousand men. The siege having lasted seventy-five days, and provisions failing, Morelos at length determined to evacuate Quautla Amilpas, which he effected in the night of the 2d of May, and in the following order; a corps of infantry, consisting of

one thousand men, took the lead; after them went two hundred and fifty horsemen, which were followed by nearly five thousand lancers and slingers: nearly the whole population of Quautla was placed between these troops and a corps of fusileers, which protected the rear.

As soon as Calleja was aware that the independents were quitting the town, he ordered his army to attack them. Many skirmishes then ensued, in which the royal forces made great havock among the unarmed inhabitants of the town, who had accompanied the army. Four thousand fell victims at this time, and they were chiefly these unfortunate persons. Calleja says, in his official communication to the viceroy, that he only lost twenty men, and that an extent of seven leagues was covered with the dead bodies of the enemy.

Morelos marched to Chilapa, and took the town by force. He next took Tehuacan, nearly fifty leagues south-west of Mexico. Orizaba was likewise obliged to surrender to Morelos; and there he set fire to the tobacco in the royal magazines, which was valued at many millions of dollars. On the

25th of November he attacked Antequera, the capital of the intendencia of Oaxaca, and this town submitted to him with little opposition. Palacios, Tinoco, and Colonels Lopez and Armenta, had been here shot by the royalists: from a spirit of retaliation, Morelos executed, on the very same spot, Lieutenant-general Gonzales Saravia, Brigadier Bonavia, and Colonels Regules and Villasante. The remains of Lopez and Armenta were then carried in triumph, and deposited in the cathedral. Acapulco fell soon after into the power of Morelos, who then stationed many corps of guerrillas between Xalapa and Vera Cruz; and by this means completely succeeded in intercepting the regular communication between Mexico and Vera Cruz.

Rayon's troops attacked Toluca, but being repulsed retired to Tenango, a town situate near an eminence about eighteen leagues south-west of Mexico. The batteries which defended the ascent of the mountain, the royalists under Don J. C. y Bustamente found means to avoid, and took possession of the town in the beginning of June 1812. All who were

made prisoners in this attack were shot. The national junta withdrew from Zultepec, and sometimes accompanied the army under Rayon, or remained in a town in the vicinity of his army, but never fixed themselves for any continued period in any place. From this era but few facts are known with certainty of the Mexican revolution, and to these I will limit my present sketch.

About the end of 1812 Don J. M. A. Toledo, who had been one of the members of the cortes for Spanish America, arrived at Washington, and there joined Colonel Don B. Gutierrez, who had come from Mexico to implore the protection of the United States. He and Toledo enrolled some Americans to assist the independents, and set out for Provincias Internas, where their numbers were increased by some guerrillas joining them. They at first obtained some advantages over the Spaniards, and even took the capital of the province of Texas, San Antonio de Bejar; but Don N. Arredondo, commander of the Provincias Internas Orientales, attacked them in the beginning of 1813, and completely

dispersed their troops. Toledo escaped to the United States.

In December 1813 Morelos attacked Valladolid; but the city receiving timely assistance from a division of troops under Llano, Morelos was compelled to retreat to Puruaran, seventeen leagues from Valladolid. Llano pursued Morelos's army, and an engagement took place on the 7th of January 1814. The battle having commenced before day-light, a fatal error happened in Morelos's army, for two of his own divisions in the dark fought against each other. Day broke, and they perceived their unhappy mistake, but too late; the independents remained spiritless, and in a state of consternation and dismay, which Llano taking advantage of, made great havock among them. Matamoros, Morelos's second officer in command, was made prisoner, with seven hundred men. Matamoros had himself taken five hundred Spanish prisoners a few days before, and sent them to Acapulco; these Morelos offered in exchange for Matamoros and his staff, but the offer was vain; the seven hundred men taken with Matamoros by the royalists

were executed as soon as taken. Morelos then retaliated by putting to death the five hundred Spanish prisoners at Acapulco.

The Spanish army was then powerful; it consisted of four strong divisions; and they nearly expelled the independents from this part of the country. Even Acapulco was reconquered; but the patriots previously destroyed its fortifications. Liceaga, however, contrived to fortify himself in the lake of Chapala, from whence he repulsed the royalists several times. Morelos, Rayon, Doctor Cos, and some others of the independent generals, obtained a few partial advantages, and hope revived among the partisans of the revolution, which again extended through the intendencias of Valladolid and Mexico.

The national junta was succeeded by a congress, which commenced its sessions at Chilpansingo, about thirty leagues south of Mexico. The congress assembled afterwards at Ario, only forty-five leagues from this city. This congress declared Mexico independent, and formed an executive power, composed of Liceaga, Cos, and

Morelos. From Ario the congress removed its sessions to Apatzingan, where they presented to the people a constitution, formed on a democratical basis, on the 23d of October 1814. On the 25th the congress issued a decree, prescribing the oath which was to be taken by the citizens enjoying the benefits of this constitution. The decrees of the congress and the constitution were publickly burned by the royalists in Mexico on the 24th of May 1815, and penalty of death was denounced against those who refused to deliver to the government any copies they might have of this constition, or of the decrees of the congress. Many privateers were fitted out by the independents; and these privateers enabled the Mexican armies to receive through the port Boquilla de Piedra, in the Gulph of Mexico, both officers and supplies of arms and ammunition.

In the month of October 1815, Morelos received intelligence that Toledo and General Humbert had arrived with arms and ammunition at El Puente del Rey, which was fortified by the independents. El Puente del Rey lies between Xalapa and

Vera Cruz. Morelos set out to join Toledo, but to conceal his design he took the road leading to the province of Oaxaca The royalists, who by means of their spies had discovered Morelos's intention, laid wait for him at Atacama, and succeeded in defeating the corps he commanded, and took him prisoner. Morelos was conducted to Mexico, and there deprived of his clerical orders by three bishops. He was accused of heresy, but the inquisition absolved him from this charge. He was shot in the back as a traitor in the village San Cristobal, six leagues from Mexico. The viceroy did not venture to have the sentence of death enforced in the city, lest it should excite the people to rise.

The following is an official letter from the viceroy of Mexico to the minister of war in Spain, intercepted in the schooner La Leona, which was taken by El Congreso, privateer from Buenos Ayres.

" I informed your excellency in my former communication that the rebels, *cabecillas*, who made their escape after Morelos's defeat on the 5th of last month, had again collected themselves into a body

in the intendencia of Puebla. They have since assembled at Tehuacan, and have there formed another junta. Many disputes have arisen respecting the presidency of this junta; but Manuel Teran excelling his opponents in talents, and having besides sixteen hundred well-armed men under his command, has the best chance of occupying Morelos's former seat.

"The rebels, still trembling for their fate, had no sooner reached Tehuacan than they sent to me, through the medium of the municipality of Mexico, the adjoined despatch; by which your excellency will perceive that they claim, in the most haughty and audacious style, that we should restore to them Morelos; alleging, in support of this claim, as an independent people, the rights of war and of nations.

"Their claims, which I have treated with silent contempt, have not prevented me from inflicting condign punishment on the criminal whose restoration they demand. I beg of your excellency to mark their expressions: you will trace in them the character of these rebels, the high

opinion they have of themselves, the decision with which they act, and the hopes they entertain. By the gazettes which I enclose, your excellency will see the indulto which I have published; which was done more to conciliate the publick opinion in favour of the government than to indulge the rebels.

"Your excellency may be assured that this measure will not endanger the publick safety; for, with some few exceptions, none will have recourse to the offered pardon; and of course the principal leaders and their bands will not lay down those arms which they are more accustomed to from the habit of plunder, than to obtain their independence. If, fortunately, contrary to my expectation, the number of those willing to submit to our arms should be more considerable, that will prove that they resign all hopes, and then we have nothing more to fear.

"Had Brigadier Don J. Moreno Daoiz, governor of Puebla, attended to my orders, he would have prevented the rebels from again uniting themselves at Tehuacan, or he would have so harassed them that their

plans must have been frustrated. Since the rebels have ended their civil broils, and formed a government to act in concert with the bands which infest the roads between Vera Cruz and Mexico, and with those which pervade the coast of Barlovento; and since the infamous Toledo has landed with armaments and military stores, they have extended their operations to Oaxaca, Orizava, Cordova, and many other towns in the intendencia of Puebla. I enclose to your excellency the proclamation which the traitor Toledo issued on his return from North America.

"Daoiz has been prevented from acting against the rebels, being deprived of one corps of troops, which was sent as an escort for the money conveyed to Vera Cruz in the beginning of last month. These troops Brigadier Miyarez still keeps in his service, notwithstanding his promise of sending them back. Although Miyarez has a considerable force under his command, which has been continually increased by the troops which have joined him in the different towns through which he has marched; and although the rebels eva-

cuated on the 8th of May El Puente del Rey, which they had fortified, still he keeps Brigadier Daoiz's troops as an escort for himself.

" I enclose to your excellency the last despatch from Miyarez, with my answer, ordering that the above-mentioned troops might be sent back to protect the towns of Orizava and Cordova, where the tobacco belonging to the king, which is the government's principal treasure, is deposited. By the copy of my orders, your excellency will see my remarks on Miyarez's plan of erecting seven forts in the twenty-two leagues between Xalapa and Vera Cruz. I foresee that these forts could only exist during the dry season; for when the rains come on, the land would be so marshy that the troops would be under the necessity of withdrawing. Were Miyarez's plan put in execution, such considerable distances would separate the troops, that it would be impossible to pursue the rebels with success; or were the coast attacked, as is expected, and assistance suddenly called for, it could not be given.

" According to the last intelligence

which I have received, Toledo has returned to New Orleans, accompanied by emissaries and officers appointed by the former congress, who are to serve in the expedition destined to the provincias internas. It is said that Toledo wanted courage to place himself at the head of the troops in the vicinity of Vera Cruz, and that he was therefore to return to Boquilla de Piedra, taking reinforcements from New Orleans.

" I beg to inform your excellency that I have intelligence from North America, relating to the arrival of J. Bonaparte at Washington, and to the conduct of the government of the United States, which is inclined to favour the revolution here; the complaint made by the minister Don L. de Onis, and the satisfactory answer of the president. Your excellency will likewise see my answer to Onis on the same subject. As much confidence is not to be placed in the government of Washington, which is interested in the emancipation of these provinces, and is desirous of forming a government for them after the model of its own, I repeat therefore to your excel-

lency the necessity of sending cruisers to the coast of Vera Cruz, and likewise land as well as naval forces and clothing. The clothing made here is costly, and not durable. It cannot be difficult for your excellency to obtain what is needful from England. It is necessary that we should be prepared, in case the factions in North America should realize their meditated invasion.

"Don N. Arredondo, commander in the Provincias Internas Orientales, informed me in his letter, dated the 13th of November 1815, that on the frontiers of those provinces, as well as on the banks of the river Sabinas, there are many bands of insurgents; and this intelligence perfectly agrees with that received from the minister Onis. Arredondo describes likewise the defenceless state of the provinces under his command, and adds, that he has not the means of placing them in the necessary state of defence. Notwithstanding the assistance which I have frequently given to Arredondo, the attention I am compelled to pay to what surrounds me, and the expenses of my own army, which ex-

ceed the actual resources of this treasury, your excellency will see the measures I have been induced to take.

"I cannot help lamenting the situation of this viceroyalty; the king's authority is no longer supported with vigour, from the general relaxation which pervades every class of society since the revolution. As a proof of this, Arredondo wanted a thousand muskets; I could not supply him, because the number of muskets made here are not sufficient to replace those we have already lost, or are destroying every day. I therefore ordered Don J. de la Cruz, the commander in Nueva Gallicia, who had lately received four thousand from the East Indies, to supply Arredondo, yet he has never complied with my orders; and if he does not, I must apply to your excellency more expressly on the subject.

"Unless the frontiers or the coast be attacked, or the North Americans openly declare for the insurgents, or J. Bonaparte and his partisans succeed in obtaining money to realize their plans, I see no immediate prospect of the king's authority being overthrown. Since the im-

prisonment of Morelos, with the exception of the intendencia of Puebla, where the principal leaders of the rebels are assembled, the whole country enjoys a degree of tranquillity; yet we are surrounded every where with numberless bands of robbers, which intercept the communication with many parts, and stop the progress of agriculture, of trade, and of working the mines, in which consists the wealth of the people. These bands are not sufficiently powerful to defeat the regular troops, to take towns, or to intercept the convoys; yet we have not the strength necessary to destroy them, though they are frequently defeated, often harassed, and severely punished if they fall into our power, as your excellency will see by the gazettes separately enclosed. God preserve your excellency!

Mexico, "FELIX CALLEJA.
December 31, 1815."

Letter from the Mexican congress at Tehuacan to the viceroy Calleja.

"The chance of war has placed in your power Don J. M. Morelos, who was made

prisoner on the morning of the 5th of this month in the environs of Temalaca, endeavouring to protect the retreat of the national representatives. These representatives greatly fear that your excellency will not spare the life of this illustrious warrior, nor even treat him with the respect due to his character. We know that this war is considered by your excellency as the rebellion of a few unhappy wretches, not as the spontaneous and general will of a people justly irritated. You have endeavoured to impress the minds of the civilized world with this disadvantageous idea of our revolution; though the continuance of the war, and the universal cry of the people, demanding their liberty, contradict your assertions. Yet these national representatives would be deficient in their duty, were they not to implore your excellency to preserve the valuable life of Don J. M. Morelos, who is both one of the principal warriors in Mexico, and a member of our government. We conjure your excellency, in the name of the nation, and in consideration of the severe sufferings this war has already occasioned us, to spare the

life of Don J. M. Morelos. We send you the proclamation which we have lately circulated among the troops in Mexico; and we hope that your excellency, who, in your communication of the 14th ultimo to Dr. D. P. de la Fonte, granting the favour of the indulto to Don J. N. Rocainz, boasts of humanity being the guide of his actions, will henceforth refrain from shedding the blood of the inhabitants of this country, and will let horror, desolation, and death cease. We, on our part, have constantly evinced moderation. Reflect on the crime you will commit if you take the life of Morelos; his death would be a fatal omen to you and your party. Remember the chances of war! Consider the vicissitudes of empires! Examine our situation and resources—tremble, and fear vengeance! While you are cruel, what can you expect, should the chance of war place you in our hands? Can your prisoners have a right to implore our clemency? Will you oblige us to repent of the moderation we have shown to your party, notwithstanding our just indigna-

tion? And, lastly, consider that you and sixty thousand Spaniards must answer for the smallest ill treatment of Generalissimo Morelos. He is inexpressibly dear to every American; nor would the ill treatment of Morelos be viewed with indifference even by those who are mere spectators of our struggle.

"L. J. SOTERO DE CASTENADA,
President of the Congress.

L. Y. ALAS,
President of the Government.

L. J. M. PONCE DE LEON,
President of the Supreme Court of Justice.

Tehuacan,
17th November 1815."

Addressed to the general of the Spanish army.

The loss of Morelos was very soon felt by the patriots. They disagreed among themselves, and Don M. Teran, taking advantage of the existing disunion, planned to dissolve the congress by force, which he did in the following December 1815. The supreme authority was then vested in Teran himself, Don E. Y. Alas, and Don N. Cumplido. Since that time the independents have been constantly losing

ground, but the particulars of the war are obscure to us.

The viceroy Calleja has been succeeded by Don Juan R. de Apodaca, who has entirely changed the plan of policy of the preceding viceroys, by endeavouring to gain the affection of the Mexicans, instead of inspiring them with terror. This plan has been crowned with success, and if we give credit to the accounts from Vera Cruz and the capital of Mexico, the revolution in that quarter is at an end.

Nevertheless part of the Provincias Internas still resist the royal forces. The patriots have been there joined by an expedition under the young General Mina. This general sailed from Liverpool in the month of May last year, 1816, having on board about seven thousand stand of arms, some officers, and equipages for two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He arrived in the United States in June, and there added to the number of officers, and got more musquets, after which he sailed for the Gulph of Mexico. This expedition suffered much during the passage

from the weather and disease. Mina landed at last at Matagorda, where the inhabitants, and Aury the commander of the privateers in that quarter, joined him.

CONCLUSION.

THE new governments established in Spanish America, not trusting to their own strength to support their independence, have applied for protection to different powers. For this purpose the junta of Caraccas deputed Don Telesforo Orea to Washington in the year 1810; and Don Pedro Gual went on a similar mission from the congress of New Grenada in 1815. Doctor Herrera was likewise sent last year, 1816, by the Mexican congress, as was Don Lino de Clemente by General Bolivar. The government of Washington, though evidently pleased with this revolution, has not judged it expedient to lend the independents any assistance; and indeed, spurred on by the Spanish embassador Onis, it issued a proclamation on 1st Sep-

tember 1815, ordering the persons who had assembled in Louisiana, with the intention of entering Mexico, to be dispersed. A bill was likewise proposed for discussion by the President of the United States, and has now passed, empowering the government to prevent the sale of vessels of war to the subjects of any other power, and thus effectually preventing the arming and equipping vessels of war in any of their ports, destined to be employed against nations in amity with the United States. The citizens have, however, openly declared for the independents, and it is owing to their support that the Mexicans especially have been enabled to repair the continual losses which they have sustained in the struggle.

The junta of Caraccas deputed Don Luis Lopez Mendez and Don Simon Bolivar to solicit the British to support their cause. In consequence of this application, the British government issued in 1810 a decree in its West Indian possessions, ordering the islands to maintain a perfect neutrality in the contest between Spain and Spanish America, on condition

that the new governments should act in the name of Ferdinand the seventh. After the restoration of Ferdinand, the Prince Regent concluded a treaty of peace with him; and in two articles added to that treaty, it was stated, " that the Prince Regent hoped Ferdinand would restore peace in his American colonies; and that, entertaining this hope, he would engage not to assist the insurgents, and would even endeavour to prevent his subjects from giving them any assistance.

Don Manuel Sarratea's mission from the government of Buenos Ayres, and that of Don Josè Maria del Real, who was sent by the congress of New Grenada in 1814, have not been productive of any advantage, though they were both commissioned to make proposals very advantageous to the British commerce; one was, to offer to the British the exclusive commerce with New Grenada and Venezuela for twenty years; yet Don Josè Maria del Real has even repeatedly solicited in vain to be favoured only with a conference with the minister of the foreign department.

The exportation of arms from England to the West Indies has been long attended with great difficulty; but now it is entirely prohibited, lest arms thus exported should find their way to the independents.

Notwithstanding the universal discontent existing in Spanish America against the Spaniards and their government, which was increased by the Spaniards declaring "that Spanish America ought to share the fate of Spain, whatever that might be," yet it is doubtful whether the Spanish Americans would have commenced a revolution, had not the British solemnly promised them their support. In saying this, I allude to the well-known instructions given to Sir Thomas Picton, in the year 1797, by the then minister for the colonial department, Mr. Dundas; in which the British government pledges itself to furnish every kind of support to those who were exciting revolt in Venezuela. These instructions were circulated in the islands, and from thence passed over to the continent. But they availed nothing at that period, and might even have sunk into oblivion, had

not the British government again most positively proved its decided intention of emancipating Spanish America, first, by the expedition sent to Buenos Ayres under Generals Whitelock and Beresford; and next, by the expedition fitted out by General Miranda against Venezuela. This expedition, which landed in Portugal to oppose the French in 1808, was destined to sail for Spanish America under the command of Lord Wellesley, who was to be accompanied by General Miranda, to give independence to the new continent. So deeply was it impressed on the minds of the inhabitants of Spanish America that the English favoured their revolution, that in the beginning of 1810 none, not even the Spaniards, had the smallest doubt on the subject. The disappointment of the Americans, when the course that the British government was pursuing in the transatlantick disturbances was known, was very severe. It lessened much their confidence of success; yet as the measures that the English were taking were neither decidedly for nor against them, the hopes of the Americans

were not extinguished. It was exceedingly to be regretted at that time that the European policy of England prevented her from fulfilling the promises of support which she had so unconditionally made to the American patriots. It cannot be concealed that these promises had a powerful effect in exciting the Americans to the resistance which they were then making to Spain—a resistance during which more than three hundred thousand lives have been lost; and which, without the interference of England, might either have been delayed to a more favourable time, or so managed as to avoid much of the bloodshed and cruelties which it is actually occasioning.

Two years had elapsed since the revolution had commenced, when the fatal earthquake at Caraccas happened; which, being considered an ominous presage, again biassed the minds of the people in favour of regal government. The conduct of the governors of the British West India islands, in that season of publick distress, seemed to evince the policy of the British government with respect to the independents.

Not the smallest assistance did the people of Caraccas at that period receive; and it was only by the liberality of the congress of the United States that the few whom the earthquake spared did not perish by famine. The royalists reconquered Venezuela, and were carrying their triumphant arms into New Grenada with a spirit of revenge corresponding with that animosity expressed by the regency of Cadiz towards the South Americans. The country was then on the brink of destruction, and the government of New Grenada resorted to the expedient of imploring succour from a foreign power. But what power could they have recourse to? Europe seemed at that era divided between the government of Bonaparte and the influence of England. From England there was little hope of assistance; she seemed decidedly fixed on her system of neutrality. From France then alone they had reason to hope for protection. Bonaparte had indeed twice declared that he would second the efforts of the new world to obtain independence; and the Americans were aware that, if such were his will, he could supply them with arms

and officers, which was all they required. But it was decided that proposals should be renewed to the United States of America; and in case of failure, an application was then to be made to the French government. This double mission was intrusted in the year 1812 to Don M. Palacio Faxar. He addressed himself, in consequence, to Mr. Madison, then President of the United States of America. He made known to him the danger which at that period threatened New Grenada and Venezuela; and observed that, unassisted, the people were unable to support the struggle necessary to obtain their freedom. The President answered, that "though the United States of America were not in alliance, they were at peace with Spain, and could not therefore assist the independents; still, as inhabitants of the same continent, they sincerely wished well to their exertions." Don M. Palacio Faxar then addressed himself to M. Serrurier, embassador from France to the United States, who most strongly recommended that he should apply to his court. This D. P. Faxar did, and Bonaparte did not

disappoint his expectations. Every arrangement was making to give the necessary assistance to the Americans, when the battle of Leipsick took place, which led to the total overthrow of Bonaparte.

Spanish America has no allies to support her in her present struggle, but the partisans of independence have considerably increased within the last seven years. Whatever may be the opinion in Europe of the military strength of Spain, it is certain that, aided by the religion and form of government so long established in America, the Spaniards are powerful enemies in the new world. The intelligence of the imprisonment of the royal family of Spain was not productive of any attempt to revolt; on the contrary, enthusiasm for assisting the mother country in her struggle was universal. The South Americans expected that their long-continued grievances might now meet with redress, since the reins of government were in the hands of their companions in those sufferings which the preceding administration had for many years inflicted upon them. And the addresses from the Spaniards were couched

in such a style of candour and benevolence, that they had great hopes of an approaching political amelioration. Two years however elapsed, and no change taking place, their hopes vanished. The proclamation of Don Pedro Cevallos, showing the grounds upon which Spain might disown the abdications and cessions at Bayonne; the report presented by Don M. G. Jovellanos to the central junta, proving the right which a nation in many cases has to revolt against the government; the leading principle of the sovereignty of the people proclaimed by the Spanish juntas; and more particularly the decree issued by the central junta, on the 15th of October 1809, declaring the South Americans to be equal in rights with the Spaniards, enlightened the people in the course they were to take in those perplexing circumstances in which the mother country found herself daily more involved. Hearing now, for the first time, *the rights of men* publickly avowed, and *that* by the Spaniards, it was not extraordinary that the South Americans listened with avidity to these doctrines, or that they should de-

termine to avail themselves of the first opportunity to put them in practice. The situation of the peninsula grew every day more desperate; the Spanish armies were defeated in almost every engagement; and what increased the evil was, that the treason of their generals was said by the Spaniards to be the cause of these defeats. The government was considered to want energy, and its members did not possess the confidence of the people. The French having dispersed the whole Spanish army at Ocana, took possession of the Andalusias, with the exception of Cadiz and the island of Leon. Some of the members of the central junta then assembled in the island of Leon, and placed their pretended power in the hands of a regency chosen by themselves. What could Spanish America expect from such a government, which scarcely possessed ground even to stand on? To establish provincial juntas was the prevailing wish; and this measure was adopted in Venezuela, New Grenada, Chili, Buenos Ayres, and lastly in Zitaquaro in Mexico. But still a rupture with the mother country

was not even thought of. The Spaniards perceived but too late the extent of the evil they had themselves occasioned by their conduct and publications. Orders were circulated that no publication, except the gazette of the regency, should be carried into America. The poison had however taken effect, and these orders could not act as antidotes. More conciliatory measures might have checked the spirit for revolt, or at least it would have assumed a less obstinate character; but after the decree of the regency declaring Caraccas in a state of open rebellion, it appeared irrevocably fixed. This increased the partisans of the revolution, and confirmed the decisions of its instigators. The Indians and the mixed races seemed attached to the revolution from the period when equality of rights had been proclaimed, and when the new government had abolished some of the taxes, tributos, alcabala, estancos, &c.

The cortes might have recalled the allegiance of Spanish America, had their conduct been consistent with the liberal principles which they professed. At first they

treated the revolution with indifference, and were even regardless of the remonstrances made by the deputies representing Spanish America, whose nomination they had themselves obtained from the Americans residing in the island of Leon. And when the cortes were prevailed upon to give a hearing to these deputies, their partiality and inconsistency were too openly evinced. As an example: it had been decreed that the constitution formed by the cortes should be established in Mexico and Lima, where the authority of the cortes was yet acknowleged. The viceroys Abascal and Venegas complied with this decree; but some months after, growing weary of the observations made by the new publications, they began by suspending the liberty of the press. Although this was considered by the constitution an act of high treason, the cortes, far from enforcing the penalties enacted for such an infringement, decreed the entire suspension of the constitution until peace should be finally restored in Spanish America.

The return of Ferdinand might have

brought with it the return of peace. The people were tired of war; the leaders of the revolution disappointed in their views; a large body of the people in a state of apathy or indifference; and, what was still more important, the veneration attached to the name of Ferdinand still existed, though in some degree lessened. When Morillo carried to Venezuela the intelligence of the restoration of the king at the head of ten thousand men, he did more injury to the royal cause by this measure than the massacres of Quito, Barinas, Barcelona, Quautla, and Goanaxoato, or the executions at La Paz, Santa Fè de Bogota, Carthagena, Puerto Cabello, Acatita de Bajan, Puruaran, &c. The South Americans then clearly saw that they had nothing to expect either from the nation or from the king; the decided revolution may in consequence date its origin from this period.

Had thirty thousand men been landed on the American shores when intelligence was given of the king's restoration, such a force might perhaps have suspended the revolution for some years, though even

fifty thousand men could not at this period effect as much as a smaller number might have done earlier. But it does not appear that any great advantage could arise to Europe, or even to Spain, were she again to subdue that country. Should the royal forces triumph, dislike and innumerable conspiracies would be the necessary consequence of the oppressive system the royalists would introduce.

To form an idea of the present state of the revolution, we must consider Spanish America as divided into three parts, which act independently of each other: 1st, Mexico; 2d, Venezuela and New Grenada; 3d, Buenos Ayres and Chili.

In Mexico the conciliatory measures of the new viceroy Apodaca have succeeded in restoring tranquillity in a great part of the revolted provinces; and if we are to believe the Spanish accounts, in the absence of intelligence from the patriots, the revolution is now confined to some of the Provincias Internas Orientales. An expedition however landed on the Mexican shores, near Tampico, about four months ago, under the young General Mina, and his

operations against the royalists are not yet known.

The island of Margarita, Guayana, and part of the provinces of Maracaybo, Cumana, Barinas, and Caraccas, are in the power of the independents. General Bolivar, as supreme chief, rules the country by the appointment of the congress which he had convoked by a proclamation dated from Margarita, the 28th of December 1816. New Grenada is wholly in the possession of the royalists; but the provinces of Popayan and Tunja are said to be in a state of insurrection. The troops of New Grenada, which, after the battle of Cachiri, withdrew into Venezuela, occupied last March the province of Casanare in New Grenada, and part of the provinces of Barinas and Maracaybo.

The provinces of Rio de la Plata are ruled by the congress, except La Banda Oriental, which Artigas governs independently; between whom, however, and the congress, a good understanding now subsists. Artigas's troops are employed in repulsing the Portugueze; and those of the congress against the royalists from Lima, who have

lately retreated to Potosi. Don J. M Puyrredon is at the head of the Buenos Ayres government. An army of four thousand men has invaded Chili under the command of General San Martin, who, since the battle of Chacabuco, has completely possessed himself of those provinces.

The American seas are swarming with privateers equipped by the independent governments of Mexico, Venezuela, and Buenos Ayres. Most of them are under the immediate orders of three officers, who are, Brion from Venezuela, Taylor from Buenos Ayres, and Aury from Mexico. The privateers cruise in the Gulph of Mexico, among the West Indian islands, the Azores, and even before Cadiz.

The situation of the respective armies, the obstinacy of the contending parties, and the means they both possess of protracting the war, render it probable that it will be long. Spain is making extraordinary efforts to recover her authority, and more than forty thousand men have already been sent to Spanish America since the beginning of the revolution. But what will be the issue of the contest at large, it

would be hazardous to prognosticate. It seems however reasonable to suppose, that the spirit of independence in Spanish America is too general to be successfully opposed much longer from a distance of two thousand leagues, in the present state of the Spanish monarchy.

THE END.

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